

CONTROLLING INVOLVEMENT: A NATURALISTIC STUDY
OF PEER INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL,
BICULTURAL PRESCHOOL

By

THOMAS F. LOGAN

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1990

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the helpful criticisms and suggestions I received from the members of my doctoral committee. Dr. Clemens L. Hallman introduced me to the critical issues that have an impact on the lives of children from other cultures. In addition, it was only through the University of Florida's Bilingual Fellowship Program, created and administered by Dr. Hallman, that I was able to undertake this study.

Dr. Rodman Webb has been my chief source of constructive comment and stimulating discussion since I began my studies at the University of Florida. Without his constant encouragement and tireless editorial assistance this dissertation would never have been completed.

Dr. Suzanne Krogh, Dr. Pat Ashton, and Dr. Athol Packer have never failed to provide constructive advice, support, and friendship when needed.

Dr. Michael Radelet has been a good friend without whose typing assistance this dissertation would not exist.

I am grateful to the Head Start staff and parents who participated in this research. I want to thank them for the patience, understanding, and insight into the lives of the children I studied.

Finally, I especially want to thank the young children who are the subjects of this study. We all became friends over the course of this research, as they allowed me to share a little of their difficult yet exciting and joyful lives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	vi
CHAPTERS	
I EARLY CHILDHOOD BILINGUALISM AND PEER INTERACTION.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Second Language Acquisition in Young Children..	4
Early Childhood Peer Interaction.....	16
Sociodramatic Play as the Characteristic Form of Peer Interaction in Early Childhood.....	16
Play Interactional Skills and Language.....	18
Variation in Peer Interaction and Play.....	25
Contextual variation.....	26
Individual variation.....	31
Conclusion.....	39
II METHODOLOGY.....	41
The Setting.....	41
The Children.....	53
Research Procedures.....	63
Data Gathering.....	64
Data Analysis.....	76
III THE SITUATION: A COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS.....	89
Introduction.....	89
Control of Classroom Activities.....	93
Morning Activity Time.....	95
Meals.....	107
Free Play.....	110
Language Use in the Classroom.....	113
Introduction.....	113
Monolingual Spanish Speakers.....	115
Partial Bilinguals.....	116
Full Bilinguals.....	117
Social Interaction Skills and Play.....	122

	Summary: Classroom Organization, Language/Ethnicity, and Social Interaction..	128
IV	CONTROLLING INVOLVEMENT.....	131
	Introduction.....	131
	Types of Social Interaction.....	133
	The Flow of Social Interaction.....	134
	Strategies for Controlling Involvement.....	137
	Staying Out.....	138
	Keeping Your Distance.....	138
	Ignoring and Looking Away.....	140
	Active Avoidance.....	146
	Moving Away.....	147
	Complaining to an Adult.....	147
	Telling Another to Leave.....	148
	Getting In.....	150
	Getting Attention.....	151
	"Hey's".....	152
	Tattles and translations.....	155
	Joining with Peers.....	156
	Quiet approaches and parallel play.....	158
	The direct approach.....	164
	Keeping Others Out.....	174
	Nonconfrontational Exclusion.....	175
	Confrontational Exclusion.....	183
	Summary.....	188
V	CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS.....	194
	Conclusions.....	194
	Limited Peer Social Interaction	
	Opportunities.....	195
	Controlling Involvement.....	199
	Social Interaction and Language.....	201
	Peer Interaction and Second Language	
	Acquisition.....	204
	Implications and Recommendations.....	206
	Research.....	206
	Educational Practice.....	210
	REFERENCES.....	214
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	226

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

CONTROLLING INVOLVEMENT: A NATURALISTIC STUDY
OF PEER INTERACTION IN A BILINGUAL,
BICULTURAL SETTING

By

Thomas F. Logan

May, 1990

Chairman: Dr. Clemens L. Hallman
Major Department: Instruction and Curriculum

This study was a naturalistic investigation of social interaction among Spanish-speaking, Mexican American 4-year-olds and English-speaking, black 4-year-olds in a Head Start center. Data were collected over a 7-month period using participant observation, interviews, and audio and video recordings of the children in a variety of classroom and playground settings.

The purpose of the research was to provide a detailed description of a bilingual, bicultural preschool setting and a theoretical analysis of the children's interactional behavior. The principal questions addressed were how well the setting provided for peer social interaction and whether that social interaction facilitated the acquisition of English by the Spanish speakers.

The setting was shown to provide little opportunity for peer social interaction, because of the manner in which the center's routines and activities were organized. This, combined with the children's language differences and their limited interactional skills, led to a low incidence of collaborative peer interaction and social dramatic play.

The children's social interaction was characterized by their determination to exercise control over their involvement with others: frequent avoidance of all social contact, willingness to enter only those social interactions that left them in control, and resistance to the access of others to ongoing interactions. The most significant result of this concern for control was the Hispanic children's reluctance to enter into verbal play with English speakers. Social dramatic play was conducted in Spanish by the Hispanics and in English by the black children. There was little mixing except in more nonverbal forms of play.

Thus, the Spanish-speaking children received little English input from play with English-speaking peers. Most English acquisition occurred in teacher-structured activities.

CHAPTER I
EARLY CHILDHOOD BILINGUALISM AND PEER INTERACTION

As the influx of non-English speaking immigrants to the United States continues (Crawford, 1989), children with limited proficiency in English will come to comprise a larger and larger proportion of the American school population. The children of just one of the language minority groups, Hispanics, are expected to make up 13% of the total American child population by the year 2000 (Rosewater, 1989, p.5). Thus, developing a better understanding of the process followed by young children in acquiring English as a second language has become more important than ever.

Though there exists an extensive literature on second language acquisition among children, little is known about specific processes in specific settings through which young children learn (or fail to learn) to be competent in a second language. As Watson-Gegeo (1988) noted

Second language teaching occurs in a wide spectrum of institutional contexts ... second language learning occurs in an even wider spectrum of contexts, including family and community settings. Yet, so far we have few careful studies characterizing those contexts and the teaching-learning interactions taking place within them. (p. 585)

We know little, for example, about the role of preschool peer interaction in second language acquisition.

It is widely accepted by the public, as well as by researchers and teachers, that language learning occurs more efficiently through peer interaction than through structured lessons. For example, MacNamara, in a 1977 review of child language-learning strategies, remarked that there seemed to be an almost magical language learning device that was activated in peer settings but lay dormant in the classroom. He went on to say that children "learn more in the street in six months than from teachers in six years" (p. 19). Similarly, it is widely believed that the younger the children the more easily they acquire a second language. As Hatch (1977) put it, "The folklore of our field has convinced most people that language learning is assured for the young child and becomes increasingly difficult with age" (p. 79). More recently, a popular text (Curtain & Pesola, 1988) on elementary foreign language instruction commented that preschoolers "absorb languages effortlessly" (p. 67). One might reasonably conclude from these assumptions that children with limited proficiency in English would acquire the language most easily if they were exposed to English at an early age and if that exposure came through interaction with English-speaking peers rather than through formal instruction.

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify the patterns that characterized the peer interactions of groups of 4- to

5-year-old children attending a Head Start center in Florida. About half the children were black, native-English speakers, and half were Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans. The central questions raised in the study were as follows: Were there consistent behavioral patterns that characterized the interactions within and between the Spanish-speaking group and the English-speaking group? Were there consistent patterns of Spanish and English use by the Hispanic children? And how did peer interactional patterns relate to the language choices of the Hispanics?

The study was not, however, an attempt to measure the effect of peer interaction on second language acquisition. Data were gathered during a seven-month school year, mid-November to early June, even though second language acquisition is generally acknowledged to be a process that takes years, not months. In fact, it is common for children to experience a "silent period" of several months in which they use little or none of the second language to which they are being exposed (Krashen, 1985, p. 9). No attempt was made to quantify language change in individual children, nor to correlate language change with social behavior.

Rather, the study has been a first step in developing an understanding of the social interaction and play of two groups of preschoolers, each of which spoke a different language. Its purpose was to generate theoretical propositions about those interactions and to speculate on

their possible relation to the process of second language acquisition.

The study of early childhood peer interaction has undergone enormous expansion in recent years. Research has included both quantitative data analysis and qualitative descriptions of data gathered through observation of children interacting in natural settings. This research will be reviewed below with special reference to the possible relation between peer interaction and second language acquisition.

Presented first, however, is a brief review of theory and research in second language acquisition. This field has undergone substantial growth in the last twenty years, in response to the debate over bilingual education in this country (Paulston, 1980; Hakuta, 1986). Those few studies that have directly addressed the relationship between peer interaction and second language acquisition will be discussed, where appropriate, within the two reviews presented below.

Second Language Acquisition in Young Children

The purpose of this section is to address three issues: What do we know about the general process of second language acquisition, specifically the kind of second language input needed by young learners? Is the age of the children in this study (4-5 years) likely to put them at an advantage or a disadvantage in this acquisition process? Does the amount

and quality of language experienced by children in interaction with one another facilitate the acquisition process?

Krashen (1985, p. 1) draws a distinction between learning and acquisition of a second language. Acquisition is the unconscious process by which one acquires usable language, just as children acquire their first language. Learning is a conscious process that involves merely knowing about a language, not necessarily acquiring it for use. This terminology will be used in what follows.

The question of age is the most easily dealt with. The evidence is overwhelming that children can and sometimes do acquire two (and more) languages by age four or five without formal instruction (Garcia, 1983; McLaughlin, 1984; Hakuta, 1986). It is not so clear whether or not there is an optimum age for language acquisition. Until mid-century it was widely believed that acquisition (first or second) occurred most easily in early childhood. Summarizing the research in 1967, Lenneberg suggested that language acquisition became much more difficult, and fluency in a second language was nearly impossible after puberty, when language function became fixed in the left hemisphere of the brain. Middle childhood was considered the "critical period" after which a second language learner faced insurmountable difficulties. Although some recent summaries of research maintain this position (e.g., Gingras, 1983),

most do not. In the most thorough recent analysis of the evidence, Krashen, Long, and Scarcella (1982) questioned the notion of a critical period. There is ample evidence that, given a supportive social situation, a second language may be acquired with similar ease (or difficulty) from early childhood through late middle-age. In general, however, adults learn a second language more quickly in formal classroom settings than do children, and older children learn more quickly than younger (Brown, 1987, p. 44). One exception to this pattern is that older learners (post-adolescent) may have more difficulty achieving accentless mastery of a second language (Hakuta, 1986, p. 232). In other words, age alone "has little explanatory power" (Hakuta, 1986, p. 152) in questions of second language acquisition. Children do not acquire a second language more easily simply because they are young; yet children as young as four certainly can become fluent in two languages.

There is, in fact, little evidence that the general processes by which children and adults acquire a second language differ much from one age to another (Hakuta, 1986, p. 141). The most useful framework for examining the acquisition process--both the quality of linguistic input needed and the skills and attitudes required of learners--is Stephen Krashen's "input" hypothesis (Krashen, 1985). Krashen's model provides a framework from which we can critically evaluate the evidence regarding the role of early

peer interaction in second language acquisition. Krashen has contended that, "people acquire second languages only if they obtain comprehensible input and if their affective filters are low enough to allow the input 'in'" (1985, p. 4). The keys to understanding Krashen's model are his concepts of "comprehensible input" and "affective filters." Krashen insists that we acquire languages in only one way, by receiving messages that we understand. The messages may contain some material we don't fully comprehend but our previous knowledge, non-verbal clues provided by the speaker, and the context of the speech help us to comprehend language "a bit above our current level of understanding" (Krashen, 1985, p. 2). According to Krashen, progress is made only when learners receive input that is understood but contains some unknown elements ("i + 1" to use Krashen's shorthand) that must be deciphered from contextual clues. Finally, comprehensible input does not immediately translate into comprehensible output, or speech, on the part of the learner. Learners often wait through a silent period, speaking little or not at all, but acquiring a reserve of understandable language before they attempt to use what they know (Genishi & Dyson, 1984, p. 124; Krashen, 1985, pp. 9-12).

Some second-language learners however, do acquire languages more quickly or better than others. Krashen attributes much of this variation to the strength of each

learner's "affective filter." This simply means that the language learners must be able to open themselves to the language they are hearing. They must be motivated to acquire the language, not worried about making mistakes, and anxious to become members of the group speaking the language. Krashen suggested that when children do achieve superior fluency in second languages, it is because their "affective filter" is low (1985, p. 44) and their motivation to learn is high. McLaughlin concurred, noting that "children's motivation to speak is extremely high in [play] situations, [because without language] they are kept out of the interaction--something most children will do anything to avoid, even speak a new language" (1984, p. 169). The issues to be explored, then, in examining the research on peer interaction in bilingual settings are whether or not the language experienced by the learner might qualify as "comprehensible input" and whether peer interaction promotes a motivational situation that lowers children's "affective filters" and inclines them to acquire a second language. Both issues will be examined in this section, but the latter point will be dealt with more extensively in the section which follows.

There is some strong evidence that children's talk during play ought to be an ideal source of comprehensible input. Evelyn Hatch and her colleagues have made probably the most thorough study of how children acquire language

through talking to their peers (Hatch, 1978; Hatch, Peck, & Wagner-Gough, 1978; Huang & Hatch, 1978; Peck, 1978). Unlike adults, children tend not to make deliberate allowances in their speech for peers who may not understand them (Peck, 1978, p. 399). Adults resort to purposefully simplified "caretaker speech" or "foreigner talk" (Krashen, 1985, pp. 4-9) in order to assist a non-English speaking child's understanding, but children do not. They generally ignore language differences, playing and speaking the same way with all their peers. What makes this speech such good input is its highly contextualized, repetitious, and predictable nature (Hatch, Peck, & Wagner-Gough, 1978, p. 275). Games and pretend play provide a familiar framework in which unfamiliar words and structures can be understood from context clues. From this predictable, repetitious language new learners can quickly pick up and use whole phrases, even whole sentences, without knowing exactly what each word in the expression may mean. Again, because they know the context (for example, an episode of pretend house-keeping play), children often can use these language "chunks" or "prefabricated speech" (Hakuta, 1986, p. 128) appropriately and insert themselves into ongoing play and conversation, even though they have a limited knowledge of the language being used by their peers. Thus, children first learn how to converse and interact verbally and only later learn the syntactic structures (Hatch, 1978, p. 403).

In sum, mutually understandable context, repetition, predictability and the suitability of half-understood chunks of language for maintaining interaction all would seem to make the language of peer play both comprehensible input and quickly usable output.

Though peer input has great potential for promoting second language acquisition in young children, research on its actual effect is inconclusive. Genishi and Dyson (1984) noted in their study of bilingual Hispanic preschoolers, that the children's dramatic play, though structurally conducive to second language growth, was conducted primarily in Spanish. The researchers concluded that children "will not soon learn English through their play alone" (p. 123). However, since all the subjects of their study apparently spoke Spanish well, there was no way to measure the possible effects of the presence of monolingual English-speakers. Similarly, in a study in which Klee (1988) followed the language growth of 4 Spanish-dominant bilinguals from first to third grade, there were no monolingual English speakers available to the group. Klee discovered that the children all became more English speaking and lost some fluency in Spanish by third grade. However, the children's language in play was the most Spanish-dominated in the beginning and remained so to the end, while the language of school work became almost entirely English. Klee agreed with Genishi and Dyson that, in the context of her study, peer discourse

did not appear to be an important source of second language input.

In a study of Korean-speaking elementary school children, Jun-Aust (1988) paired bilingual children with English-speaking peers. The pairings were found to be associated with growth in English use with both peers and teachers. However, the pairings were established by the researcher solely to promote cooperation in classroom activities, and no attempt was made to observe the spontaneous social interactions of the children. If peer pairing were the source of the children's accelerated use of English, the study reveals nothing of the process through which the peers aided the Korean children in their acquisition of English.

The most thorough examination of peer interaction between English-dominant and Spanish-dominant young children has been conducted by Fillmore (1976, 1979). She paired 5 Spanish-dominant kindergarten, first-grade, and second-grade children (ages 5 to 7) with English-speaking peers. The 5 pairs were observed for an hour each week over the course of a school year. The amount of English each of the children acquired varied from enough to achieve near-native fluency to practically none. Fillmore found that the amount of English acquired was closely related to the ability and willingness of the children to interact with their English-speaking peers. Nora, the child who achieved greatest

growth in English, was the one who engaged in the most social dramatic play with English-speaking children. Noting that the language of dramatic play was the "most useful as input," Fillmore (1979, p. 224) ascribed Nora's success to her preference for this kind of social interaction with English-speakers. Fillmore concluded that "to learn a language rapidly, it is perhaps most necessary to identify with the people who speak it" and want not only to speak like them but to be like them (1979, p. 227). Fillmore's Nora, in Krashen's terms, was most able to lower her affective filter and make use of her peers' comprehensible input.

It should be pointed out that only one of Fillmore's subjects, Nora, managed significant growth in English in one school year. The reluctance of the others to join in dramatic play with Anglo peers led Fillmore to speculate that they might need two or even three school years to acquire the English Nora acquired in one. In a more recent study of classroom discourse, Fillmore (1985) concluded that most children of limited English proficiency (LEP) probably received inadequate English input from their peers. In many schools the social situation was such that LEP children were neither able nor willing to socially interact with English-speaking peers. The English used by their classroom teachers may have been their only source of English input.

Heath and Chin (1985) offer some insight into the difficulties encountered by non-English speakers attempting dramatic play with English speakers through their study of a three-year-old Korean-speaking child (1985), Soo Joong, who attended a nursery school with English-speaking children. The researchers discovered that, although Soo Joong could use English in some social situations and could carry on extensive English monologues, she was very reluctant to engage in English social dramatic play. She attempted it occasionally but then withdrew for long sessions of monologue and solo practice of the dialogues she had heard her English-speaking peers use. Heath and Chin concluded that dramatic play was linguistically demanding and required more skill in English than most young learners acquire in their first year in an English-speaking environment. There was no mention of other Korean-speaking children in the study, however, and it is to be assumed that social play in Korean was not an option for Soo Joong. In fact, in the studies reviewed here only Fillmore examined a situation in which the children could choose between social interaction with speakers of their home language and interaction with English speakers. However, even Fillmore failed to look at play and social interaction in a natural setting (e.g., free play on the playground). She drew most of her data from the behavior of dyads playing in laboratory situations she had established.

In summary, two of the questions raised at the start of this review can be answered unambiguously, although the answer to the third and key question remains unclear. Children as young as three or four can and do acquire second languages, but young children probably acquire a second language no more easily than do older children or adults in supportive environments. Secondly, it appears that acquisition of a second language occurs only if the learner receives sufficient understandable input of the target language and is willing to enter into social situations that supply that input.

A final issue arising from Krashen's hypothesis actually suggests two questions: Does early childhood social interaction, especially dramatic play, provide good input for second language learners? And are children likely to be motivated to enter into situations where they can get this input? The answer to the first question seems fairly clear. Though young children make no special accommodations to the language needs of their peers, the nature of early childhood discourse, especially in dramatic play, lends itself to the provision of comprehensible input. Language in play is repetitious, predictable, and used within familiar contexts. Whole chunks of this language, or "formulaic expressions" (Fillmore, 1979, p. 211), can be understood and used before children know much about the formal structure of the language. Young children willing

to enter into social interaction and play with their peers are likely to acquire language from them.

The second question is not so easily answered because there is little research that directly addresses it. In fact, there is not a single study that even poses the relevant question: In a preschool setting that contains both native English speakers and children of limited English proficiency (LEP), do children from the two groups interact in such a way as to facilitate the LEP children's acquisition of English? Researchers have found that bilingual children typically play in their home language (at least until the middle grades) when no native English speakers are present. On the other hand, these children improve their English skills when paired with an English speaker for school work. When paired for play, some LEP children begin to use English with their partners, but others do not. Even Fillmore sheds little light on the broad question raised above since her study examined only researcher-structured dyadic play situations rather than children's spontaneous interaction in natural settings. Heath and Chin (1985), who studied interaction in a natural setting, have indicated that, although the child was willing to attempt play in a second language, the language of play proved too demanding. It is difficult to interpret the willingness of this particular child to attempt dramatic play in English, because play in her home language was not

an option. Heath and Chin, however, addressed the question from the proper perspective. They pointed out that understanding the role of early childhood peer interaction in second language acquisition must begin with an understanding of the nature of that interaction.

For this reason, the present study focused on developing an understanding of the social world created by the children in their Head Start center. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the researcher followed a qualitative methodology in order to create as full a description as possible of the peer interactions among the children from the two language groups. We currently have little data on how linguistically mixed preschoolers behave in free play, nor are we in a position to judge the value of peer interaction as a source of comprehensible input or motivation for second language acquisition. We do know quite a bit about the general nature of preschool peer interaction and play, and it is to this subject that this review now turns.

Early Childhood Peer Interaction

Sociodramatic Play as the Characteristic Form of Peer Interaction in early Childhood

Social pretend play is the characteristic form of social interaction for children between the ages of 3 and 7 (Fein, 1981). In classrooms and on playgrounds children often engage in play that involves neither speech nor

imaginary situations, such as rough-and-tumble play (Pellegrini, 1987) or play fighting. They also spend time not playing at all but simply conversing with one another (and adults) about common interests (Dore, 1979). However, most young children have capacity for and interest in engaging in social pretense with their peers (Slaughter and Dombrowski, 1989), and nearly all research on peer interaction in early childhood has focused on this type of play. Thus, the review includes a definition of sociodramatic play and a discussion of its development in the early years. There follows a description of the interactional skills involved in establishing such play with special emphasis on the role of language. And, finally there is an examination of variations in the quantity and quality of peer interaction in relation to contextual factors and children's individual differences, especially differences in language and ethnicity.

Sociodramatic play occurs when "within the context of social play with a peer, children add elements of fantasy and communicate to the partner that the nature of the play is pretend" (Howes & Unger, 1989, p. 105). This type of play emerges as the characteristic form of early childhood peer interaction after age 3 and begins to recede three or four years later (Piaget, 1962, p. 105). Recent research indicates that pretend play may occur at even earlier ages. Garvey (1974), Garvey (1984), and Garvey & Hogan (1973) have

indicated that children can collaborate in pretense at or even before age three. In Howes' (1988) comprehensive longitudinal study of infants, toddlers, and preschoolers, she also found that social pretense emerged in the late toddler period. Defining the upper end of the age range, Piaget noted that pretend play declined in favor of more organized games with rules sometime after age 7 or 8 (Piaget, 1962, p. 140). Other researchers have found sociodramatic play to emerge and decline at later ages (e.g., Eiferman, 1971). The consensus is that across a broad range of cultures, preschool-age children focus much of their social interaction on creating collaborative pretend play (McLoyd, 1982). Due to differences in research technique, subjects, settings, and researchers' definitions of play the proportion of peer social interaction comprised by pretend play has varied greatly from study to study (e.g., 10% in Rubin, Maioni, & Hornung, 1976; 25% in Parten, 1932; 41% in Howes, 1988). However, it is widely believed that social pretense, unless actively constrained by the culture, becomes the characteristic expression of social interaction in early childhood (Slaughter & Dombrowski, 1989, p. 289).

Play, Interactional Skills and Language

Social dramatic play, potentially the best source of comprehensible input for early language learning, comes naturally to children of preschool age. However, the skills

required to enter into and maintain social pretense are complex. In one of the most important early studies of dramatic play, Garvey (1974) noted that, at the very least, children needed to possess three basic abilities in order to successfully participate in social play: "the ability to distinguish play and nonplay states, the ability to abstract the organizing rule from its specific or local representation, and the ability to identify a theme of the interaction and contribute to its development" (p. 178-179). In other words, children need to be able to recognize whether or not others are playing, to know what the rules of the game are, and, most importantly to create variations in the play that fit the theme established by their playmates. It is implied that very young children (Garvey's subjects were $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 years old) need to understand and interpret the words and actions of others and, in turn, speak and act in a manner that can be understood by their peers.

Since Garvey's early work, researchers have elaborated these basic abilities and begun to reveal the range of sophisticated social and verbal skills young children need in order to collaborate in play. A child's ability to recognize pretense in others and communicate it to them is often referred to as metacommunication--"communicating about communicating" (Fein & Schwartz, 1986). When interacting within a pretend framework, much individual skill and social coordination are required to maintain the illusion and keep

the play episode going. Giffin's (1984) observational study of preschoolers (ages 3-5) at play revealed just how complex these skills were. Giffin found that the children in her study had developed a repertoire of at least seven tactics designed to communicate the play situation to other participants. These tactics ranged from simply acting out the play episode without explicitly explaining what they were doing, through various methods of emphasizing or highlighting elements of the play to communicate its intent to others, to overtly proposing, "Let's pretend." Giffin also discovered that the children based their choice of tactics on a set of rules designed to maximize the pretense and minimize the necessity of departing from the play's imaginary frame. The children demonstrated remarkable verbal skills, enabling them "to communicate symbolic meanings, know that those meanings are symbolic, yet interact as if they were not" (Giffin, 1984, p. 96).

Social play thus requires a high level of verbal ability just to create and maintain its illusions. However, more skills are required once the pretend framework has been established. As Fein and Schwartz (1986) note, "Socially organized pretense requires a language to talk about pretense, but it also requires something to talk about" (p. 103). The work of Katherine Nelson and her colleagues has provided the most detailed descriptions of the content or "scripts" of children's pretend play (Lucariello, Seidman, &

Nelson, 1985; Nelson & Seidman, 1984). Scripts are "schematic representations of events [that] include information about the temporal and causal organization of a set of related acts, about which components of the events are obligatory and which are optional, and about the props and roles associated with the events" (Lucariello et al., 1985, p. 1-2). Scripts are, more simply, the common understandings shared by pretend players of familiar situations (e.g., cooking dinner or going to the store) which become the basic material for pretend play episodes. The degree to which the players share these understandings, both as an aid to interpreting the speech and actions of others and as a guide to their own speech and actions, determines their ability to maintain play-centered dialogue beyond minimal exchanges and to add new propositions to their talk (Nelson & Seidman, 1984, p. 68).

The ability to coordinate pretend play also is closely related to more general social skills among preschoolers. A recent study by Doyle and Connally (1989) indicated that the ability to enact pretend play sequences with peers was also the best predictor of a child's overall popularity in a preschool group. Recently some researcher of the social world of preschool children, although they acknowledge the centrality of pretend play, have taken a broader view of the skills young people need in order to maintain any sort of social interaction. Asher, Renshaw, and Hymel (1982), for

example, noted how rapidly play situations changed, and what elaborate skills children needed in order to initiate, maintain, and then re-initiate social interactions with others. In addition, conflicts of interest constantly emerged over objects and terms of play and had to be resolved through negotiation. The authors concluded that by age five children had developed a remarkable range of social skills. They "already know that their rights can be defended in peer conflicts by direct action that is not overtly aggressive, by persuasion through appeals to social convention, by seeking a compromise through sharing, and by appealing to an authority" (p. 142).

Corsaro (1979) identified 15 different strategies used by 3- and 4-year-old nursery school children to gain access to social interactions with others. Thirteen of those strategies required verbal production on the part of the child attempting entry. Interestingly, less than 35% of all the children's access attempts succeeded on the first try (p. 324). However, those children who followed their initial unsuccessful attempts with a sequence of follow-up attempts had a better than 50% chance of getting into the play episode. This success rate reached 90% if a nonverbal entry try was followed by a verbal one (p. 331). In other words, access to any social interaction required that the children be able to persist in a complex sequence of access

behaviors and to use a sophisticated repertoire of persuasive verbal skills.

In fact, the key role played by verbal persuasion in children's construction of social events is the theme of much recent research. Cook-Gumperz (1981), in a review of research on the use of persuasive language by young children, concluded that by age three or four, children "are using language to persuade; that is, using strategies dependent on spoken speech alone to alter the course of someone else's behavior, opinion, or actions" (p. 25). In a summary of her own research, she noted that children of preschool age should be able to "formulate for themselves their social projects" (p. 43), and that often "these can be achieved solely through the use of language/speech rather than through other forms of social action." In an earlier study, Newman (1978) found that among a group of 3-year-old nursery-school children, disputes were settled primarily through language, and that physical actions were clearly secondary to talk. "Maintaining participation in and directing the course of the [play] episode" (p. 238) depended to a great extent on a child's verbal ability. Newman concluded that language was a "constitutive element in the production of organization" (p. 238). Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro (1986), in introducing a collection of recent research on early childhood socialization, reinforced the importance of language by pointing out that, in the

preschool years, " speech and conversation become the most critical tool for the construction of the social world, because it is through the use of language that social action is generated" (p. 9).

The above statement nicely summarizes the emphasis of this section of the review. Preschool social interaction is dependent largely on a child's linguistic ability. Skill with language allows children to collaborate in pretend play, to elaborate on play themes so as to maintain the pretense, and, at a more general level, to be able to engage their peers in any collective social endeavor. Social dramatic play, proposed by language acquisition theorists as the richest source of child-child input, requires that its practitioners already possess a wide range of communication skills. In fact, the initiation and maintenance of any social interaction among preschoolers apparently requires quite sophisticated verbal skills.

An aim of this study, then, has been to develop a description of the verbal interactions and play skills demonstrated by children in a bilingual preschool. As much as we know about the role of verbal ability in initiating and maintaining early childhood play, we know very little about the complications created by the presence of two groups of children speaking different languages. Given the apparent importance of linguistic ability in monolingual settings, one would expect children's fluency in one or both

the languages, in a bilingual setting, to be of great importance.

Variation in Peer Interaction and Play

The purpose of the final section of this review is to examine what research reveals about the individual and contextual factors that affect the incidence of peer social interaction and play. Though much is known about the effects of setting variations and individual differences on social play, no study has examined the possible effects of these variables on second language acquisition.

Early childhood peer interaction does not occur in a vacuum. Nursery schools and child care centers vary greatly in regard to the role of the teachers in the children's activities, the time allotted to free play, and the physical environment provided for play. Perhaps more important, the children in each setting are different. They may be of either sex, have working-class or middle-class backgrounds, be of various ethnic origins, and speak English or other languages. Groups may be homogeneous or contain children who differ along one or all of the dimensions mentioned above. Finally, individual children differ in their abilities and motivations to verbally interact with others. Clearly, these contextual and personal differences affect the ease with which children are able to engage in the complex verbal behavior described in the preceding section.

Contextual variation

A key variable in the effect of preschool context on the social behavior of children is the role played by adults in the setting. Children are rarely left entirely alone in a preschool, even during free play periods. Genishi and DiPaolo (1982) noted that much research on children's speech, social interaction, and play derived its data from observations of dyads in laboratory settings. They suggested that the elaboration of dialogue observed by some researchers (e.g., Fillmore, 1979, and Garvey, 1974) may have been due in some degree to the absence of a teacher upon whom the children could call for resolution of disputes. The preschoolers they studied rarely attempted elaborate verbal discussions or arguments because of the constant presence of teachers. The children knew that teachers would intervene if disputes were too loud or went on too long. Thus they did not argue at length or attempt reasoned negotiations of their disagreement. The goal of a dispute was not discussion or even a fair solution, but simply "the control of another's behavior" (Genishi & DiPaolo, 1982, p. 66). Allowing or asking a teacher to intervene was always an alternative to verbal negotiation.

Lubeck's (1985) comparative study of a Head Start center and a part-day nursery school also revealed the effect of teacher presence on child language use. In the Head Start center, the children were seldom allowed free

play, spending much of their time in groups attending to adult presentations, lining up, and eating meals. Compared to the nursery school there was far less opportunity for open peer interaction or social pretense, and the children rarely engaged in extended conversation or verbal play with one another. In another recent study (Innocenti et al., 1986) of preschoolers, this factor, teacher interaction with children, was singled out for analysis. The researchers found that peer interaction increased as teacher presence decreased, reaching its maximum when the teacher was absent. They concluded that "teacher presence/absence is a critical variable in peer interaction" (p. 149). Clearly, children must be given sufficient time to play amongst themselves, without excessive teacher interference, in order to develop the more complex verbal skills associated with peer interaction and dramatic play.

Time allotted to free play, aside from the presence or absence of teachers, is itself a factor in children's social interaction. In a recent summary of her comparative research, Lubeck (1988) reported a surprisingly wide range in the time allotted for free play in the two centers she studied. The part-day nursery allowed the children free play 75% of the time, while the Head Start center permitted it only 15% of the time (p. 13). In a study of the length of free-play sessions, Christie, Johnsen and Peckover (1988) demonstrated the advantage of extended play periods. The

researchers compared the complexity of social interaction generated by preschoolers in 15-minute and 30-minute play sessions. When restricted to 15-minute play periods, children played alone more often, developed less group dramatic play, and did not have sufficient time to perform the negotiations required to initiate group play (p. 126). Adding 15 minutes more to the play sessions gave children the time they needed to create complex collaborative play among themselves.

Merely having enough time for free play and being reasonably free of adult interference during play are still no guarantee that a preschool context will facilitate language development. Children also need appropriate physical facilities and sufficient materials to support dramatic play. Based on her pioneering research on preschool social interaction, Parten (1933) pointed out the wide range of social behaviors children displayed in different parts of the classroom. When children played in the sandbox or at activity tables (e.g., beads, clay, paper and scissors), they were likely to play alone or parallel to one another and to engage in limited conversation or verbal play. The site most likely to generate dramatic play and its characteristic rich language was the kitchen area. French, Lucariello, Siedman, and Nelson's recent (1985) study of preschoolers drew the same conclusions. Play with blocks and trucks was more action oriented, requiring little

speech, whereas play in the kitchen area led to the lengthiest interactions and the most complex use of language by the children.

There is a pattern to the degree of support that different contexts lend to complex play and language, and, not surprisingly, it is related to a factor discussed above--the presence of adults. In her ethnographic research, Mandell (1986) found that the types of interactions in which children engaged could be predicted by the degree to which adults imposed structure in different classroom contexts. In highly structured contexts, like the activity table, children concentrated on performing the teacher-planned activities and engaged in little verbal interaction with one another. In semistructured contexts, such as the sandbox or kitchen area, where teacher-supplied materials dictated the themes of play, children verbalized a great deal. However, their games were characterized by "prearranged social scripts" (p. 66) containing much repetition and predictable language. In free-play contexts, where there was no teacher-imposed structure and children had to create and sustain their own play themes, they engaged in the most complex interactions and used the most creative language. The most verbally skilled children gravitated to these contexts; those with less communicative ability stayed in the more structured settings. Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro (1977), like Mandell (1986), found housekeeping play in the

kitchen area or playhouse highly scripted and predictable but thought sandbox play the most spontaneous and creative (p. 431). In Parten (1933) and French et al. (1985), the sandbox was found inferior to the kitchen, where the most complex interaction and richest language occurred. Clearly the presence of adults, both actual physical presence and the degree to which adults have "prestructured" a setting (e.g., set up a corner of the room to resemble a kitchen), is a key factor in determining the kind of peer interaction and speech that will occur.

Obviously, children need time for free play if they are to engage in the complex social interactions that facilitate language use. Free play in this context means play free from excessive adult interference. Children need to be allowed to establish the themes and ground rules for their play and, whenever possible, to negotiate solutions for their disagreements. Most researchers agree that, even though such semi structured settings as the kitchen area may produce predictable themes and "scripted" dialogue, the language used in these settings is nevertheless complex and creative. As discussed in the last section of this review, the speech of dramatic play appears to be ideal input for language acquisition. Apparently what is needed to create this ideal situation is sufficient time to play, free of the interfering presence of adults, in settings conducive to dramatic play.

Individual variation

Even if they are given opportunity for free play, some children cannot or, at least, do not join their peers in social play. The most well-known study of this phenomenon is Smilansky's (1968) description of the play of young Israeli children. She found that low-income, non-Western children (i.e., children of recent African and Middle-Eastern immigrants) did not play as well as the children of middle-class Westernized families. "Disadvantaged" preschoolers, to use Smilansky's term for the non-Western children, played socially less often and, when they played, engaged in less pretense and verbalized less than the other children. In studies of low-income, minority Americans, researchers have reached similar conclusions. Rubin, Maioni and Hornung's (1976) study of 3- and 4-year-old middle-class and lower-class children enrolled in an American university preschool confirmed Smilansky's findings. Lower-class children played more often in a solitary or parallel fashion, and when they played cooperatively, they were more likely to play with toys (e.g., blocks or trucks) than to take part in dramatic, verbal play. Similarly, Christman (1979) found that low-income Mexican-American migrant preschoolers engaged in relatively little sociodramatic play.

There are as many studies that have not indicated a connection between socio-economic status or culture and

social play as there are those that have. Eiferman (1971) studied groups of European and North African Israelis similar to those studied by Smilansky. She concluded that Smilansky's "disadvantaged" children simply mastered social play at a later age (6 to 8 years as opposed to 3 to 5 years) and then played as well as, if not better than, their middle-class peers (p. 290). Researchers studying low SES American children have reached similar conclusions: Given the opportunity, all children can produce highly verbal, complex dramatic play. Illustrative are Schwartzman's (1978) study of multi-ethnic, inner-city preschoolers, McLoyd, Ray, and Etter-Lewis' (1985) study of 4- to 5-year-old black girls, and Genishi and Galvan's (1985) study Spanish-speaking, Mexican-American preschoolers in a Head Start center near the Texas-Mexico border. In reviewing the research on ethnic and social class differences in play and social interaction, McLoyd (1982) and Schwartzman (1984) both concluded that there was no convincing evidence that ethnicity or socioeconomic status determined children's ability to play or interact verbally with their peers. Rather, Schwartzman (1984) suggested that the low incidence of verbal play in some studies reflected not a lack of competence but an unwillingness to perform in unfamiliar settings with unfamiliar peers.

There is, in fact, evidence that peer familiarity is a strong factor in the quantity and quality of social

interaction among preschoolers. Gumperz and Tannen (1979), in a discussion of the issue of individual differences in language use, pointed out that conversations of any kind--from adults' discussions of serious issues to children's pretend play dialogues--are facilitated by the familiarity of the speakers. This factor, familiarity, actually has two levels: the macro or societal level, "features of an individual's speech behavior which are shared by significant number of others and play a role in the signalling of common identity" (p. 305), and the micro or local level, the shared symbols learned through previous social interaction. In other words, how well people cooperate conversationally depends on the shared language concepts (both verbal and non-verbal) they bring from their background and on the shared interactional skills they have been able to develop among themselves. It would follow from this that children from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and with limited opportunity for interaction with one another would have greater difficulty initiating and sustaining conversation.

Research on play "scripts" was mentioned earlier in the discussion of the interactional and verbal skills children need in order to engage in social pretense, but it has relevance here as well. Researching script use among preschoolers, French, Lucariello, Siedman, and Nelson (1985) noted that social play and conversation were rare and

monologue prevailed "among unacquainted children who do not have a history of successful communicative interaction or a great deal of joint experience about which to converse" (p.14). They concluded that, though contexts provided by the teacher (e.g., a kitchen area) could help even unacquainted children maintain interactions, sharing language and cultural background was even more important. Sharing "event knowledge" (i.e., knowledge of the procedures and language appropriate to particular pretend play episodes) was "basic to young children's complex discourse achievement and to their joint creation of fantasy play" (p. 22).

In one of the most comprehensive studies of the evolution of peer interaction skills in young children, Howes (1987, 1988) pointed out the developments that needed to precede children's widening their circle of playmates to include those with cultural and linguistic differences. Children had to first develop "the capacity to communicate meaning as well as engage in structurally complex interactions" (1987, p. 160). Only then could they benefit from an expansion of their circle of playmates and friends to include a wider range of children. Howes' research on peer interaction supported the conclusions of Nelson and her colleagues' research on play scripts by emphasizing the importance of familiarity and common background in the initial development of complex verbal interactional skills.

Thus, children with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds may not find it easy to socialize or play together. In addition, young children from different ethnic origins may not be willing to interact. Aboud (1988) studied prejudice in young children and concluded that most children began to express negative reactions to members of other ethnic groups between the ages of 3 and 5 years. Most of the research reviewed by Aboud involved black/white relations. However, she noted that those studies involving blacks and Hispanics revealed that black children tended to hold negative opinions of Hispanic children, as did Hispanics of blacks.

Aboud's research and the studies she reviewed did not, however, involve actual observational research of mixed ethnic children in natural settings. Rather, the methodologies included interviewing children and noting their reactions to drawings, dolls, and photographs. When observation of natural interactions are included in research, a different picture emerges. Phinney and Rotheram (1987) indicated that young children's responses to adult questions did not correspond to their actual playmate choices. Although black and white preschoolers "notice and comment on ethnic differences and may even verbalize negative ethnic attitude, they readily play with and choose friends from among children of other groups" (p. 281). Ramsey (1987), in her review of theory and research on young

children's thinking about ethnic differences, came to the same conclusion. Young children may make negative generalizations about ethnically different peers but then go ahead and play with them anyway.

What observational studies we have of the play of young children in mixed ethnic and mixed language groups do support this conclusion but with reservations. Emihovich (1986) studied the social relations of black and white children in a kindergarten classroom. Her study focused on the boys and their use of disputes and arguments to assert their status in the classroom hierarchy. She found that, though black and white boys played together to a limited degree, there were essentially two status groups, black and white, with little cross-over. She speculated that the high level of interpretive skills needed for both play and dispute resolution made it difficult for children from different cultural backgrounds to successfully interact (p. 496). In a similar fashion, the English and immigrant Indian and Pakistani children observed by Sluckin (1981) played together a great deal but split along ethnic lines in certain circumstances. Commenting that verbal skill "makes playtime predictable" (p. 43), Sluckin noted that immigrant children had difficulty participating in verbal play and interpreting the English children's intentions. Though he did not observe as dramatic a split along the lines of race as across genders, it was clear that the immigrant children

did not engage in a full range of play with the English children. In both these cases, ethnically diverse children played together, but not in every context. Whether due to language differences, cultural differences, or both, these children found it difficult to engage in the more complex, verbally demanding forms of play and social interaction with ethnically different peers.

The most thorough discussion of cross-ethnic play can be found in Lily Wong Fillmore's account (1976, 1979) of her dissertation research. Though her data were not taken in a natural context (she observed dyads in a laboratory setting), her observations were insightful and relevant to this discussion. As noted above, her subjects' second-language acquisition ranged widely, from Nora's (who, in nine months, progressed from monolingual Spanish-speaking to fully bilingual) to Juan's (who learned almost no English in nine months and, Fillmore speculated, might take two more years to approach Nora's mastery of her second language). Fillmore ascribes this enormous gap in language acquisition principally to the difference between Juan and Nora's willingness to interact with Anglo children. Juan, in fact, had no Anglo friends with whom Fillmore could pair him for the purposes of her study. He refused to speak to those Anglos she tried to choose for him and finally forced her to allow him to be paired with one of his Mexican-American friends, who happened to be bilingual. Juan seemed

interested in learning English, but "he truly did not care much to socialize with the people who spoke the language" . . . "he preferred the company of those with whom he could communicate freely, and so he played only with other Spanish speakers" (1979, p. 208). Nora's attitude toward her Anglo peers was precisely the opposite of Juan's. "She was strongly motivated to be associated with the English-speaking children in her classroom, and she sought them out to play with to an extent that none of the other children in the study did" (p. 221). In all social situations, in the laboratory sessions, on the playground and in the classroom Nora was always with English-monolingual children. Only Nora engaged in significant dramatic play with English-speakers. The other three children learned more English than Juan but less than Nora and what they learned was directly related to their willingness to socialize and speak with Anglos. Nora not only socialized with but joined English-speakers in the type of interaction with the greatest potential for language input--social dramatic play.

Fillmore's study reinforced the point made in the Emihovich and Sluckin studies. In mixed ethnic and mixed language groups of young children, play occurs across groups, at least with some of the children. However, the kind of play likely to facilitate language growth--collaborative, verbal, pretend play--is rare in racially and linguistically mixed groups.

This section on individual differences in young children's play and social interaction returns to the issue of play and second language acquisition. For the play of young children to have a role in facilitating second language acquisition, the setting must include at least two groups of children who differ linguistically and probably culturally as well. Research, however, supports the conclusion that peers with very different backgrounds may find complex, verbal social interaction difficult. This could be because children from some ethnic groups or social classes are less skilled in some kinds of verbal play than others, but the evidence for this seems inconclusive. On the other hand, there is substantial evidence that play is difficult for children who do not share a good deal of common background information and who have not developed extensive familiarity with one another. In addition, by preschool age, children have often already developed negative attitudes towards children of other ethnic groups. Finally, some observational research confirms a low incidence of dramatic play between children from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, though whether the low incidence is due to negative attitudes or inadequate linguistic and interactional skills is unclear.

Conclusion

As noted already, the goal of this study is not to measure the effect of peer interaction on second language

acquisition, but rather to provide a clear picture of the setting being described and to facilitate the posing of questions for future research. There was, nevertheless, a broad question that framed the study: How do the children in the Fern Lake Head Start center socially interact and use language with one another? The research reviewed suggests other questions as well: How can the context in which the children interact be characterized, in terms of teacher presence, time allowed for play and available physical facilities? What are the children (especially the Spanish speakers) like, in terms of their language use and willingness to interact both within and between the two ethnic groups? In summary, given the setting's physical and human characteristics, is there evidence that the Hispanic children are receiving comprehensible English input from their peers and that the Hispanic children are interested in and willing to use the English input of their peers?

CHAPTER II METHODOLOGY

The Setting

This study was conducted in a small agricultural and resort town in Northeast Florida.¹ Fern Lake lies in the middle of an extensive agricultural region that overlaps vegetable crop areas to the north and a portion of the orange and grapefruit grove area to the south. In addition, it is a major center for commercial fern production. Dozens of varieties of decorative ferns are grown along the roadsides and under the live oak forests of a two-county area. The ferns must be picked, bundled, and boxed by hand, to minimize bruising, before they are trucked to florist shops up and down the East coast.

Because citrus fruit and many of the vegetables grown in the area must also be picked and sorted by hand, this part of Florida has a large concentration of families engaged in seasonal agricultural labor. The harvesting of citrus and vegetables is done chiefly by local black families, many of whom have lived in the area for generations. Most of them migrate up the East coast in the

¹Names of all places and persons have been changed to protect their anonymity.

summers, when North Florida vegetables are few, to harvest crops in Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. They return each fall to the same towns, often to family owned houses that have been kept by relatives over the summer.

Ferns, on the other hand, are harvested almost exclusively by Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals. These families arrive in the Fern Lake area in October or November and stay until early summer, when the Florida fern harvest declines. They then move north up the East coast or to the Midwest for the summer, where they harvest vegetable and fruit crops until as late as October. Some families, perhaps most, return to south Texas or Mexico to visit relatives in the fall or spring, between the heavy Valentine's Day (early February) and Mother's Day (early-May) fern harvests. Many Hispanic migrants have lived in Florida for years, although few maintain permanent residences in or near Fern Lake. Some, unlike the local black migrants, travel widely in Florida during the fall and winter to other vegetable and citrus areas in response to fluctuating labor demands.

Because of the large number of migrant families in the area, a federally funded agency has operated a Head Start center in Fern Lake for several years. The center opens in November by which time the majority of Hispanic families who work in the fern industry have arrived; it closes in June when most leave for the North. The center also serves the

local citrus and vegetable workers and has tended to be about evenly split in ethnic makeup between the children of English-speaking black and Spanish-speaking Mexican-American families.

During the course of the study, there were 30 to 32 children were enrolled in the center. Half were referred to as toddlers, a group that consisted of children between the ages of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 years. The others, referred to as preschoolers, ranged in age from 4 (the youngest was exactly 48 months old when the study began in November) to a little over 5 years (the oldest had turned 5 three weeks before the center opened). The toddlers and preschool children often came from the same families, with almost all children having at least one sibling or first cousin attending with them. Though initially a few toddlers were permitted to spend the day with older relatives in the preschool group, the two groups followed largely independent schedules. They took separate turns for inside activity and outside playground time, went on separate field trips, and, at lunch, ate at separate tables. At nap time, a few toddlers were permitted to have their cots near their older siblings. After nap, the two groups played together on the playground, before their bus ride home.²

²Because families lived miles from the center, often in remote rural locations, the center offered pick-up service in the morning (from 6:00 A.M.) and returned children in the evening, some as late as 6:00 P.M.

The center was housed in one-half of a single-story, block building owned by a local church. The other half of the building was occupied by a clinic operated by the county Health Department. The dimensions of the portion of the building used as a preschool (see Figure 1) were approximately 60 by 45 feet. There were doors opening in from the street and out to the playground, as well as inside doors opening into the clinic, the kitchen, and teacher's office. There was a bathroom against the back wall of the classroom. Another bathroom located in the teacher's office, was occasionally used by the children.

The classroom itself was one large room with no partitions. The 4-year-olds occupied the half nearest the street door, the younger children the area closest to the playground. Within each half, book cases, storage shelves, and other furniture divided the areas into centers furnished with appropriate materials. On the 4-year-old side there was a book corner, art area, manipulative area, and housekeeping center. The toddlers had similar centers, and a large block area in the middle of the room was shared by both groups.

The playground (see Figure 2) was a sandy, treeless, fenced area some 60 by 100 feet. The children entered it from the back door of the building (in the northwest corner) and boarded the busses through a large gate in the east fence. Near the classroom door there was an 8 X 10 foot

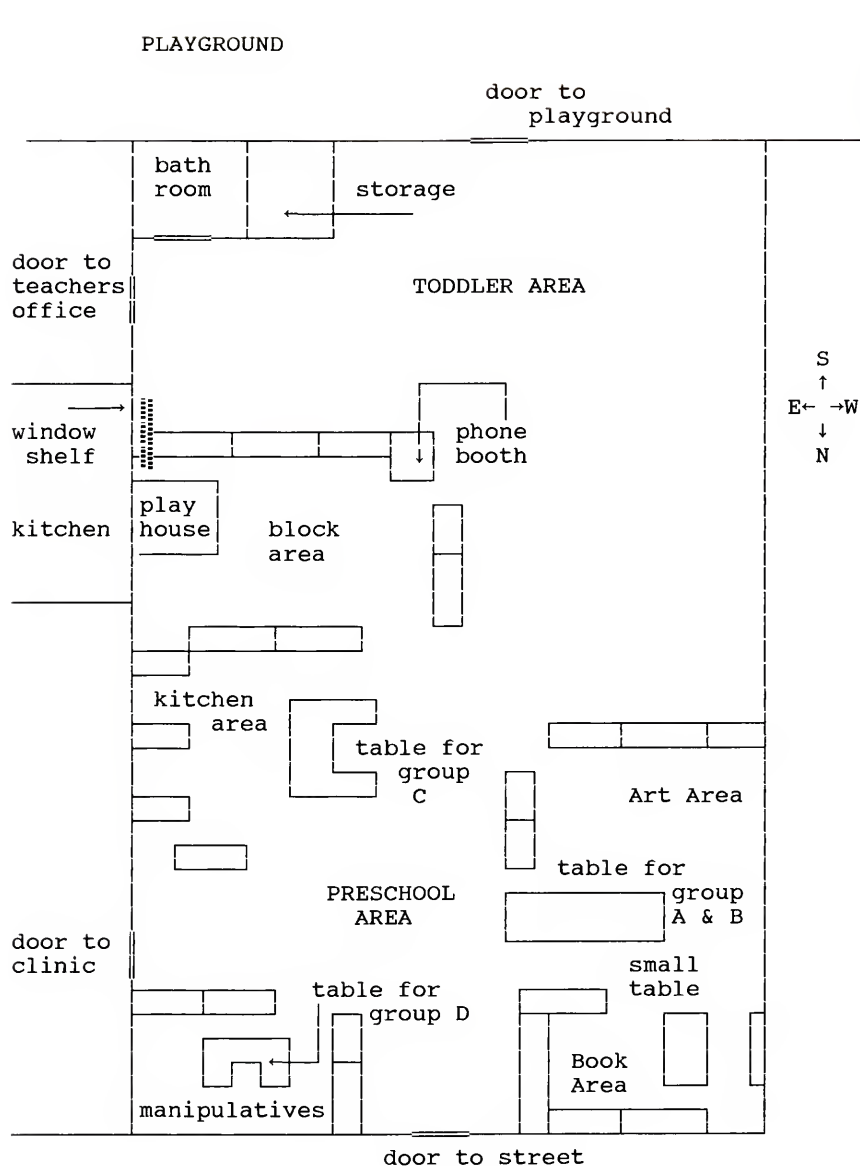


Figure 1: Preschool Building

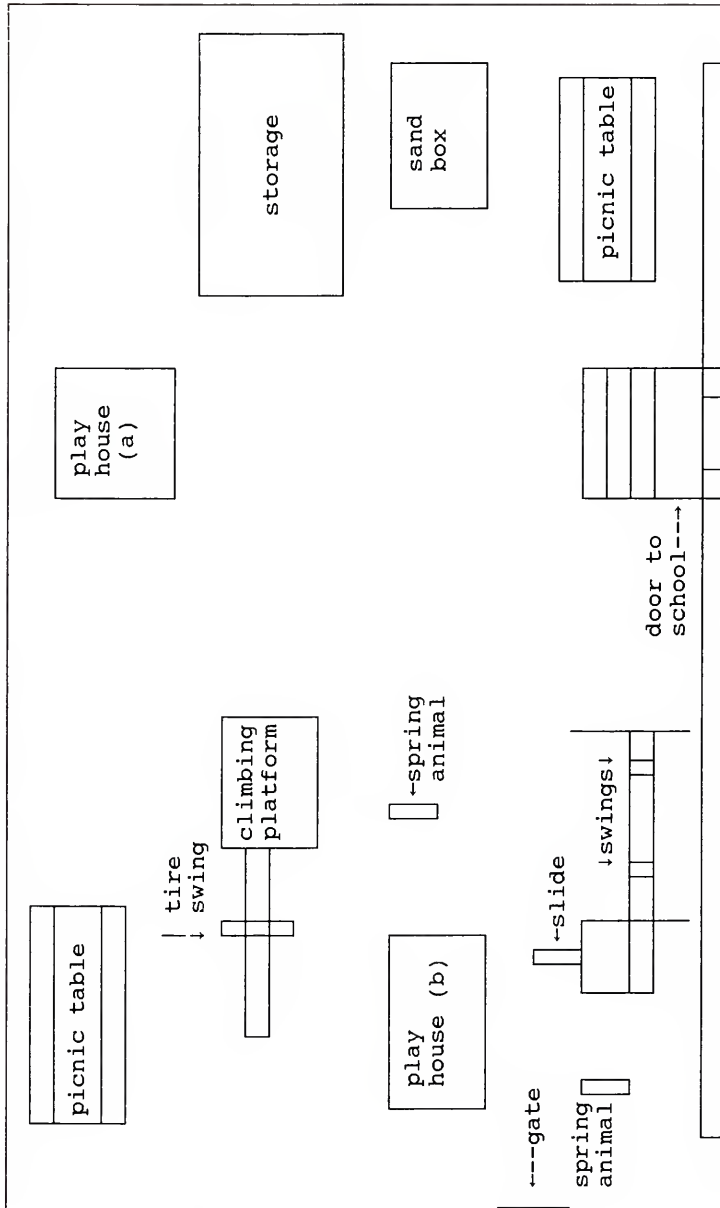


Figure 2: Playground

sandbox and, immediately to the right of it, a picnic table. Beyond the sandbox was a large, metal storage building where the outdoor toys (tricycle, etc.) were kept. The middle of the play yard was open with a firm, packed surface; this was where the trikes were ridden, and where most of the rough-and-tumble running play took place. There were two large anchored pieces of equipment on the east side of the yard: a slide with two swings near the building and a tire-swing attached to a climbing platform in the southeast corner. There was a second picnic table in this corner. Finally there was a moveable, 6 X 6 foot, plastic playhouse that was moved from place to place by the teachers and children. It was most often found near the storage building or in front of the gate on the east side. On none of the 32 days I visited the center did the weather prevent the children from playing outdoors.

Initially there were 11 Spanish-speaking toddlers and 5 English-speakers. Membership of that group changed over the 6-month study, but its composition remained disproportionately Hispanic. Since this study deals almost exclusively with the preschool group, I will be referring to the toddlers only when they play a part in preschool interactions.

The preschool group, though it changed membership slightly from November to June, remained fairly even in ethnic composition (see Table 1). At first there were 2

boys and 6 girls in the English-speaking group. One of the girls left during the first month, and a new English-speaking boy joined the group at the end of January. In mid-February, one of the girls was reassigned to the toddler group when the teachers and director decided she was too immature to remain with the preschoolers. She was not replaced, and the English-speaking group consisted of 3 boys and 4 girls when the center closed in June.

Table 1: Ethnic Composition

Name	Sex	D.O.B.	Arrival At Center	Departure From Center
<u>Spanish Speaking</u>				
*Maria	F	12-11-79	11-13-84	2-12-85
Rosa	F	12-20-79	11-13-84	----
Raquela	F	02-02-80	11-13-84	----
*Alberto	M	02-05-80	02-20-85	----
Caridad	F	02-17-80	11-13-84	----
Ana	F	03-29-80	11-13-84	----
*Luisa	F	05-24-80	11-30-84	----
José	M	06-27-80	11-13-84	----
Janie	F	09-14-80	11-13-84	----
Estela	F	11-17-80	11-13-84	----
<u>English Speaking</u>				
Lonnie	M	11-21-79	11-13-84	----
Ebony	F	12-17-79	11-13-84	----
Felicia	F	01-04-80	11-13-84	----
*Geena	F	02-02-80	11-13-84	11-21-84
Theo	M	04-10-80	11-13-84	----
*Sam	M	05-08-80	02-06-85	----
Sharee	F	06-19-80	11-13-84	----
Tonya	F	10-13-80	11-13-84	----
**Wanda	F	11-03-80	11-13-84	01-23-85

* Arrived at center after opening or left before closing.

** Moved from preschool group to toddler group.

When the center opened, there were seven Spanish-speaking girls and one boy; an eighth girl joined the group 2 weeks into the school year. In mid-February, one girl departed for Mexico with her family and was replaced by a second boy the following week. Thus, at the end of the year there were 7 girls and 2 boys among the Spanish-speaking preschoolers.

The preschool group had its own team of 4 teachers. All of these women were locally hired paraprofessionals who had worked in the center the previous year. One was a bilingual, Mexican-American, former migrant who maintained a permanent residence near Fern Lake. She was originally assigned to a small group of 4 children that included 2 Hispanics but was reassigned to the toddler group in January. She was replaced by another English-speaker, a black woman who had travelled as a migrant in previous years. Two of the other regular teachers were also members of black migrant families. The fourth teacher was a white non-migrant who spoke and understood a few words of Spanish. Two or three others served as substitutes through the year, including another bilingual Mexican-American, but no regular Spanish-speaking teacher was assigned to the preschool group after the departure of the first.

Instruction was conducted almost entirely in English, with only infrequent attempts to provide a bilingual curriculum. However, there was no systematic attempt to

teach English as a second language to the Hispanic children. The Mexican-American teacher, ironically, never presented material in Spanish. The English-speaker mentioned above, who spoke some Spanish, tried throughout the year to expand her command of her second language by occasionally incorporating it into lessons. She also learned a few simple questions in Spanish and would sometimes use them to address those children with the poorest command of English. On the other hand, the Mexican-American teacher and the substitute who worked periodically after January routinely spoke Spanish in informal situations with the small groups in their charge and with the other Hispanic children when supervising large groups, especially on the playground. Nevertheless, few preschoolers from either ethnic groups heard much Spanish spoken by adults, especially in the more structured lessons. My use of Spanish with children and teachers will be discussed in another section of this chapter.

The classroom routines remained fairly consistent throughout the 6 months of this study. The center opened at 7:30 A.M., and the first bus-load of children, who had been picked up as early as 6:30, arrived between 7:30 and 7:45. This group consisted of 8 to 10 preschoolers and a similar number of toddlers. Early in the school year, some toddlers remained with their older siblings and cousins until the second bus route was completed shortly after 9:00. This

early morning period, from approximately 7:30 to 9:15, was devoted to unstructured activities. Children were permitted to choose from several table activities supervised by teachers and at times could play in the block and housekeeping centers (see Figure 1). Shortly after the arrival of the group from the second bus route, the free activities were concluded and preparations begun for breakfast. The children were then separated into their two groups (preschool and toddler) to be seated for breakfast, and they remained apart until the afternoon.

The preschoolers were divided by the staff into four small groups, each with four children and one teacher. The make-up of the groups remained virtually unchanged throughout the year. The only exception was that two groups traded tables and teachers in mid-February. The small groups sat together for breakfast and lunch and for mid-morning teacher-planned activities. Two small groups sat at one large rectangular table with their two teachers, the other groups sat at small semi-circular tables some distance from the large table and from each other.

After breakfast, usually around 9:30, the toddlers went out for 45 to 60 minutes and the preschoolers stayed in. They generally gathered as one group for "circle" (songs, dances, recitation, etc.) for 20 to 30 minutes, then broke into their four small groups to work at their tables with their individual teachers for another 20 to 30 minutes.

Between 10:15 and 10:30 they went out to the playground (changing places with the toddlers) and, generally, were free to play as they wished until lunch, which was served between 11:15 and 11:30. Sometimes the toddlers would join the preschoolers outside for free play shortly before lunch. Usually a few preschoolers went in early to help the teachers set tables.

Immediately after lunch, the room was quickly cleared and cots put down for nap. The children napped or, at least, were required to lie quietly from 12:30 until 2:30. Weather permitting, all the children went out for a snack at one of the playground picnic tables. Whole group free play was permitted until the bus departed for the first route home at about 3:30. The remaining children continued free play until the bus returned at 4:30 or 5:00 for the second route (see Table 2).

This description is of a "model" schedule, from which the teachers frequently departed. Due to weather or mechanical problems, the morning bus routes sometimes were delayed by an hour or more. Parents, missing the bus or having family plans, sometimes brought their own children in at odd hours of the morning or picked them up early in the afternoon. Absent teachers, inclement weather, field trips, or just lack of sufficient planning by the staff sometimes resulted in both groups staying together all morning, the elimination of small group activities, or no activities at

Table 2: Typical Daily Schedule

6:30	First bus route begins (15 to 20 children, about half preschoolers, half toddlers)
7:30-7:45	First bus group arrives at center and second bus route begins
7:30-9:15	Morning free play period
8:45-9:15	Second bus group arrives
9:00-9:30	Breakfast
9:30-10:30	Toddlers go out to playground for free play; preschoolers do indoor activities with teachers
11:30-12:00	Lunch
12:00-12:30	Clean up; bathroom
12:30-2:30	Nap
2:30-3:00	Snack
3:00-3:30	All outside for free play
3:30	First bus route home begins
3:30-4:45	Second bus group outside for free play
4:45-5:00	Second bus route home begins
6:00-6:30	Approximate time when last children have been delivered home

all (i.e., some sort of free play all day). Bad weather in the afternoon occasionally kept all the children in after nap, so that they missed the opportunity for outdoor free play.

The Children

The focus of the study was the social interaction of the older Spanish-speaking children (the preschoolers) among themselves and with their English-speaking peers. When the center opened in mid-November there were eight Mexican-American children enrolled in the preschool group: Janie, Rosa, Ana, Maria, Raquela, Estela, Caridad, and José. Janie

was 4 years, 2 months old when the center opened. She was a small, slim child with long blond hair and blue eyes.

Janie's father was a Mexican-American whose family lived in the valley of the Rio Grande in South Texas. Her mother was a non-Hispanic from Georgia who had been in the migrant stream from childhood and had met Janie's father working the crops in the upper midwest. Janie's mother had been to South Texas and Mexico many times and travelled with several other Spanish-speaking families (including her husband's brother, who was also married to a non-Hispanic migrant).

Janie's father spoke almost no English, but her mother was bilingual and spoke fluent Spanish. At home, the adults and the youngest children spoke only Spanish. Janie was bilingual, though she clearly preferred speaking in English. She spoke Spanish to her father, uncle, and younger siblings and cousins, but English to her mother and older siblings (who had been to school a few years). She generally spoke English to the bilingual teacher and to me, resorting to Spanish only occasionally. She had a younger sister and a cousin in the toddler group, both of whom spoke predominantly Spanish.

Janie was born in Florida, and her family had worked in the Fern Lake area for several years. Each year, in the fall, they visited South Texas before returning for the fern harvest. They had rented several different homes in the Fern Lake area over the years and, this season, were living

in a trailer near a small black community several miles south of Fern Lake. At home, Janie played mainly with her numerous siblings and cousins but also with the children in the neighboring community. This was Janie's second full year in the Head Start center, and she had also attended preschool for a few weeks in the intervening summer in Michigan.

Rosa was just one month shy of her fifth birthday when the study commenced. She was a tall, big-boned child with short light brown hair. She was an only child who lived with her father in a small town near Fern Lake. They lived in a predominantly white neighborhood near the home of her mother's parents. Rosa's mother was not a migrant, spoke no Spanish, and had left the area when Rosa was very young. There were two other Mexican-American families settled in the same town (including the family of the bilingual teacher in the center), and Rosa spent many evenings and weekends in the summer with them, playing with their bilingual children. Though she spoke Spanish with her father at home, she frequently stayed with her mother's family, who spoke no Spanish.

Rosa's father spoke some English, though he was much more comfortable with Spanish. He took Rosa to visit his family in northern Mexico every year in the late summer or fall. Rosa had been in the center for about 5 months the previous year, and that year, according to the teachers, had

learned to speak almost no English. During the study, she was as likely to speak English as Spanish but clearly was more capable of extended dialogue in Spanish. She always spoke Spanish to the bilingual teacher with whom she was well acquainted from outside the center.

Ana, 4 years, 7 months, and Maria, 4 years, 11 months old, were first cousins and inseparable play mates. Both were light complected, with full faces and chunky builds, and they looked like sisters. Their families lived in two frame houses in a cluster of older homes that stretched along an unpaved road south of Fern Lake. All these houses were rented to migrants, some black, some Mexican-American. Ana and Maria played with their own numerous siblings and cousins and with their black English-speaking neighbors. Both girls had younger sisters in the toddler group, and Maria had an older sister in kindergarten who spoke some English.

The adults in both families were Mexican nationals. Except for Maria's mother, they spoke little English and used only Spanish in their homes. Though the families had come to Florida for several years, both girls were born in Mexico and had returned there each year in February to visit. Both had been in the center last year until late January, when Ana left for Mexico and Maria's family went to Plant City, Florida to pick strawberries. Neither girl returned to the Fern Lake area until November. Ana stayed

the entire year, but Maria returned to Mexico with her family in mid-February.

Maria and Ana played with one another almost exclusively until Maria left. Maria occasionally used English to speak with the teacher, even translating for Ana at times. Both girls preferred to speak Spanish, however, and were among the most verbal and out-going of the Hispanic children.

Raquela was 4 years, 9 months old, a slender, dark, very quiet child. She was born in Florida, but both parents were Mexican nationals who spoke little English. In the late summer the family always travelled to Mexico. Raquela had two sisters, and one brother; her younger sister and her brother were in the toddler group. None of the children had been in the center before, and the oldest girl was not enrolled in the public school.

The family rented an old wooden house on the edge of a small, rural, black community. Though there were a few other Hispanic families nearby, Raquela, both in the center and at home, played only with her siblings. She almost never attempted to speak English.

Estela, a tiny, lively child who had just turned 4, lived in a trailer in the same rural community as Raquela. They were related, though distantly. Their two families did not travel together, and, in fact, Estela's father had not returned to Mexico for a few years, visiting family near

Austin, Texas, instead. Both parents spoke some English, and their older children had been in the center and were now enrolled in school. Estela's younger sister and a young male cousin were in the toddler group, where Estela had been the previous year. All the younger children, Estela included, had been born in Florida. Some English was spoken at home by her parents and the older children. Estela seldom attempted to speak it and much preferred to speak Spanish with her peers and with the bilingual teacher and me.

The previous year, Estela's father had been arrested as an illegal immigrant and had spent several weeks in a detention center near Miami. He was currently fighting deportation in the courts. The family was still in Florida when the center closed in June but remained in danger of being sent back to Mexico.

Caridad, a small, dark child with Indian features, was 4 years, 9 months old in November. She lived in an old wooden building, formerly a small barn, behind a farm house on a small fernery. Caridad was one of 10 children, 7 of whom lived with her and her parents; the older ones lived with family in Michoacan, a state in southwest Mexico. Other Hispanic families lived on the fernery property in an old trailer and scattered, decrepit frame buildings.

One older sibling, who had attended school for a few years, spoke some English, but no one else in the family

did, and Spanish was the only language spoken at home. Late each summer the family returned to Michoacan for several weeks. Caridad and some of her younger siblings were born in Florida--Caridad in Dade City, when her parents were there working in the citrus groves. This was the family's first visit to the Fern Lake area and Caridad's first time in a child care center. Her younger brother, Isac, was in the toddler group. Isac and Caridad were inseparable and spent as much time together as the center staff would allow. Isac cried so much the first few weeks that he was permitted to stay all day with the preschool group so his sister could quiet him. Caridad spoke only rarely and then in Spanish.

Until February, José was the only Spanish-speaking boy in the preschool group. Four years, 5 months old when the center opened, José was an only child living with his mother, who spoke some English. His father, because he travelled around Florida a great deal to find work, was often not at home. The family lived in a small, well-kept frame house in Fern Lake; there were no other Spanish-speaking families nearby. Each summer his family returned to Crystal City, Texas.

José nearly always played alone or sought the attention of the teachers. He occasionally engaged in rough-and-tumble play with a few other preschool boys but was rarely included in verbal play with either language group. He had a very marked language delay and rarely used complete

sentences in either language. For all these reasons, José seldom appears in the tape recorded interactions, though he was observed and his actions recorded in the fieldnotes.

Two Spanish-speaking children joined the preschool group after the study began. Luisa, 4 years, 6 months old when she was enrolled, was born in Texas but came to Florida every year and was in the center for her second full school year. She lived in an apartment over some stores in downtown Fern Lake with her teenaged mother, her grandmother, and her mother's sisters and brothers. Some of Luisa's young aunts were not much older than she. Her father visited her mother occasionally but did not live near Fern Lake.

All but the grandmother spoke some English, and, though there was another Mexican-American family living in the same building, most of their neighbors were white English-speakers. On the other hand, everyone in Luisa's family spoke Spanish and travelled to northern Mexico for several weeks every fall. She seemed quite able to understand and speak English as soon as she arrived in the center, but she preferred Spanish and rarely spoke English, except to the teachers.

When Ana's cousin, Maria, left for Mexico in February, Caridad's cousin, Alberto, a recent arrival from Mexico, was enrolled in her place. Alberto was almost exactly Caridad's age, 5 years in February, looked enough like her to be her

brother and lived in the same house she did. Neither Alberto nor anyone in his immediate family spoke English, and he had never been in an American school before. Though an older child, he had difficulty adjusting to the center. When Caridad was present he never left her side, and, when she was absent, he remained alone all day, occasionally crying.

Even given the diversity of backgrounds of the children just described, they comprised an easily recognizable unit in terms of peer interaction. Though Hispanics did not play exclusively with other Hispanics, play with non-Hispanics was rare and limited largely to non-verbal types of play. A few of the children, Raquela, Caridad, and Alberto, were almost never involved in interaction with English speakers, and even the most fluently bilingual, Janie, Rosa, and later Ana, rarely engaged in more than simple non-verbal play with them. Complex dramatic play took place almost exclusively within the Hispanic group (and within the non-Hispanic group as well). When the preschoolers were allowed to play with the toddlers, the unit expanded to bring in younger siblings and cousins but almost never English speaking toddlers.

It should be noted also, that, though some of the Hispanic children lived near and played with both black and white English speaking neighbors, none of the Hispanics lived near or came into regular outside contact with the black children who attended the center. Hispanic and black

families generally worked different crops and rarely socialized together. To complete the segregation of migrant life, even those who traveled north in the summer to the same agricultural areas lived in separate migrant camps.

The two Hispanic boys experienced an even more restricted social situation. José had an obvious delay in language development and rarely produced complete sentences in Spanish or English. Though he was in the center during the entire period of the study and had no siblings or cousins, he almost never engaged in other than brief, non-verbal play with his preschool peers. Alberto came late to the group and chose to interact only with his cousin, Caridad. Also, as with preschoolers who have been studied elsewhere (e.g., Paley, 1986), the girls' play had little place for boys. This was brought home to me most dramatically one morning in March when Alberto approached the outdoor playhouse with his cousin, Caridad. She quickly entered the house to join in an ongoing session of house-keeping play involving four of the Hispanic girls. Alberto looked at their play for a moment, then, without a word, walked off to sit alone. When I asked one of the girls why Alberto didn't stay to play, she simply said, "No es mujer," he is not a woman. The Hispanic preschoolers formed a definite social unit, but the heart of that unit was the eight girls. Only the girls engaged in a wide range of social interactions with a large number of different

partners. Thus, my observations and audio and video recordings provide a much fuller picture of the girls.

Research Procedures

This was a naturalistic study (Denzin, 1977; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) in which the data were subjected to qualitative analysis as described by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987). I gathered data in the form of fieldnotes from participant observation and informal interviews and from audio recording made during some observations. I supplemented these data with two 90-minute video recordings toward the end of the study. The theoretical assumptions of both my data gathering and analysis include the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1956) and Blumer (Manis & Meltzer, 1972), Erving Goffman's discussions of social interaction (e.g., Goffman, 1963; 1967), and especially the recent phenomenological studies of children's culture, such as those by Corsaro (1985) and Mandell (1984). I assumed from the beginning of my study, and my conviction grew stronger as it proceeded, that children create their own social world by endowing it with meaning through their interactions with others (children and adults), that children are aware of this process and consciously strive to manage their interactions with others, and that these created meanings and interpretations can only be learned from children by an

interested observer willing to take children seriously and to draw close to their world.

Data Gathering

Though data gathering and analysis proceeded simultaneously from the first day in the field to the writing phase, I will deal with them separately.

My intent when the study began was to observe peer social interactions, especially in social pretend play. As a preschool teacher and administrator, I had witnessed several children experience significant growth in a second language apparently through play with peers. Also, the literature on early childhood second language acquisition (e.g., Garcia, 1983; Mackey & Andersson, 1977) led me to expect this would be a promising place to look for dramatic second language growth. There were (and are) few first-hand descriptions available of peer interaction among bilinguals and fewer studies of child-initiated interactions in natural settings. I had extensive classroom experience with black, white, and Mexican-American children in migrant Head Start programs and was sufficiently fluent in Spanish to be able to understand and interact with both language groups. Consequently, I had sought as a research site a Head Start center with a mixed Mexican-American/native English speaker population. The center at Fern Lake provided just such a situation.

Negotiation with the Head Start project administration, the first set of gatekeepers, began when I contacted the migrant agency for whom I had worked in previous years. The agency gave me its permission to conduct the study and arranged a meeting for me with the director and teachers of the center during their planning session the week before the center opened.

The first meeting was the beginning of the first phase of negotiating my status within the center (i.e., developing and maintaining relations with the adults: director, teachers, cooks, bus driver, and social worker). This is a process that continued throughout the research project and required negotiation (and often re-negotiation) with each person (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973). Though the adults in the center were not the primary focus of my research, they were crucially important to data gathering and analysis because they insured my continued access to the children and permitted me to regularly confer with them to validate my analysis of the children's behavior (Denzin, 1978).

There was a degree of tension between me and the staff from the beginning that never completely resolved itself. It was known by the center staff that I had worked for the supervising agency and remained friendly with several central office administrators who monitored the center. Thus, there was always suspicion on the part of a few teachers that information I might gather would get back to

the administration. These suspicions were made easier to believe by the fact that I, like their supervisors, was white, while all but one of the center employees were either black or Mexican-American. Though all these tensions were not completely resolved by the end of the study, I soon felt comfortable and nearly always received the full cooperation of the staff.

I had worked in similar centers for years and demonstrated to the teachers' satisfaction that I understood the difficulties of their jobs. I listened sympathetically to concerns and complaints and commented when I thought it appropriate. I made it clear to both local staff and central office that I would not allow myself to be used in disputes. The administration (i.e., the friend who had acted as the original gatekeeper when I first sought entry to the site) once sought my assistance in reprimanding a teacher, but I emphatically refused.

My willingness to be useful facilitated my acceptance. I rode morning and evening bus routes helping entertain the children, chatting with the driver, and translating for Spanish-speaking parents. I changed dirty clothes, accompanied the children on field trips, served them food, and brought them to and from the neighboring clinic for checkups and immunizations. I stayed occasionally for evening parent meetings to greet and make conversation with the Spanish-speaking families. As Mandell (1988) noted,

teachers may value a researcher as a "confidante, friend, and helper," and I was all of these, but what these teachers particularly wanted was "an extra pair of hands" (p. 444). The staff cooperated by allowing me to interview them informally everyday. In addition, I conducted one long, formal interview with the center social worker to gather background data on the children. Finally, I interviewed, at the center or in their homes, the parents of all the Hispanic children except Raquela, Rosa, and Alberto.

My relationship with the children was more complicated. Though I had always intended to concentrate on the interactions of the Spanish-speakers, I made every effort to develop close relationships with all the children, black and Hispanic, in the preschool group. I had too little contact with the toddlers -- other than those who spent a great deal of time with preschool siblings -- to develop the same degree of intimacy I formed with the older children. Again, as with the adults, this proved to be a continuous process of negotiations with each child that only ended when the study was completed. Obviously the role I assumed with the children was crucial to my ability to gather the "emic" (Pelto & Pelto, 1978, p. 55) data I needed to understand their social world.

There has been much discussion of the various roles participant observers may take in the field (e.g., Becker, 1958; Gold, 1958). There are, however, some issues peculiar

to the observation of young children. I sought to assume an observational role that would maximize my access to the subjective world of the child. As Silvers (1975) put it

What we attempt to discover about children is dependent on our learning how they comprehend and construct the world, i.e., how their talk or solving of puzzles reveal certain kinds of interpretations and forms of reality, and this is itself dependent on the necessity of crossing over to share their view of the world. (p. 49)

To enter the children's "realm of interpretation" (Silvers, 1983) required that I physically participate in their world and join them in social interaction. Some researchers (e.g., Goode, 1986; Mandell, 1988; Waksler, 1986) argue that full participation in the child's world is quite possible, limited only by differences in size and agility between adult researchers and their young subjects. The "least adult role" proposed by Mandell (1988) involves the researcher's conscious imitation of children's behaviors and avoidance of teacher-like behaviors so as to allow his initiation into full membership in the child's social world. Sluckin (1981) advocated almost precisely the opposite. Reflecting Schwartz and Schwartz's (1955) observation that observer and observed are linked "in a reciprocal process of mutual modification" (p. 94), Sluckin sought to minimize his effect on the children by maintaining a detached adult role in his research with 5-year-olds. He neither initiated contact with the children nor responded to their

initiations. He noted that by the end of his first month in the field the children came to ignore him completely.

Though I agree with the rationale of the advocates of complete participation, I found myself settling most comfortably into the in-between role of "special friend" as described by Fine and Sandstrom (1988) and Corsaro (1985). Reflecting on my role, I found it useful to examine it using Fine and Glassner's (1973) dimensions: "(1) the extent of positive contact between adult and child, and (2) the extent to which the adult has direct authority over the child" (p. 155). I strove always to maintain a positive and friendly manner toward the children and to exercise as little authority over them as I could. When I felt it necessary to intervene (e.g., when a child was about to do something dangerous to herself or harmful to another), I tried to make it clear that my intervention was "personal, and not because of institutional concerns" (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988, p. 29). I did not attempt to initiate play with the children or to become involved in their more active play. I did, however, respond to their overtures, and I always cooperated with them when they asked me to become part of their pretend play or help them do things for which my size and strength were necessary. At times, the regular staff teachers also participated in this way with the children. On the other hand, I did not intervene in non-dangerous disputes, even when asked, nor did I impose rules on their play, though

children clearly expected me to do so at times (e.g., to tell a child to share or let someone else play). Though my role resembled Corsaro's (1985) "reactive" participant, it evolved more from a pragmatic evaluation of how the children and staff would react to my behavior and how comfortable I personally felt than from any purely theoretical criteria. The outcome was a situation in which everyone generally felt comfortable, yet which gave me access to data not normally available to adults. I visited the site 32 times between November and May, for a total of 128 hours in the field. I made eight audio recordings of small-group play sessions and two of interview sessions, as well as four, 45-minute video recordings of large- and small-group play.

Data gathering proceeded in phases and involved several different modes of inquiry. For the first week in the field, I sampled children's activities widely, from their arrival to their departure on the last bus route. I strove to construct an overall view of the center's day: teacher activities, children's activities, indoor and outdoor routines, degree of interaction of the toddlers and preschool groups. Spradley (1980) referred to this phase as the "grand tour," in which the ethnographer records a general description of the physical setting, the actors, the sequence of activities in which the actors are involved, and the apparent intentions and feelings of the actors. At this stage, I made no attempt to actively engage the children in

conversation or to join in their play. I responded to their inquiries (in Spanish or English as appropriate), told them my name, explained that I was writing what they were doing because I found it interesting, and even read my notes back to them when asked.

Towards the end of the first week, I began to concentrate on the preschool group and, by the second week, participated only with these older children. By now children's questions were rare, and I was occasionally involved in play episodes. Though the amount of my involvement increased over the next few weeks, I kept my participation peripheral, not initiating or terminating play, not settling disputes or directing play in any way (Corsaro, 1985). I neither played the role of a child nor of an adult with authority.

I continued to participate at this level, jotting notes in the field, then expanding them later that same day, but relying entirely on my own observational skills. In January, two months after I began, I introduced two changes in data collection, one suggested by theoretical interests, the other by a desire to get fuller accounts of the children's verbal interactions. From the start, it had been difficult to observe small groups of children in free play situations. When the teachers conducted their small-group activities, they never permitted a group to play in the block or housekeeping areas while they supervised more

structured activities for the other groups. Beginning in January, I negotiated an arrangement with the teachers by which they would permit the four-child small-activity groups to take turns in free play areas (blocks, housekeeping, even out in the sandbox on occasion) if I would assume the responsibility of supervising them. This benefited both the teachers and me; the staff could allow more free play (always being urged by the central agency, but always restricted because free play demanded more supervision) without increasing their supervisory load, and I was permitted to observe free interaction in small, mixed-ethnic groups. Since these groupings eliminated free partner choices, they did not provide insight into the interactions that might have arisen during whole-group play. However, they allowed me to develop a fuller picture of verbal interaction in small groups.

I introduced an audio tape recorder at this point to help me fill out the details of the verbal interactions. As with the note pad in November, I simply explained what I was doing, allowed the children to examine the recorder and microphone, and occasionally played back their voices to demonstrate how it worked. The children grew accustomed to the new equipment and within a few minutes ceased to notice it. I was able to closely observe free play within each of the four small classroom groups and to fill in the gaps in my field notes from the audio tapes. Of course, I continued

to collect field notes in all the normal settings, indoor and out, as I had from the beginning.

In February, I created an additional context from which to collect data on free play interaction. For the first time, I departed from the schedule set by the teachers. The new arrangement was actually a product of the ambiguous results that came from my attempts to interview the children. The ethnographic interview is a well accepted source of information both as a primary source of qualitative data (Loflin, 1971) and as a source of validation or triangulation in studies in which observation is primary (Denzin, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Sevigny, 1981). However, even in the sociological study of adult groups, interview data are difficult to interpret unless they serve as supplements to more extensive observational data (Becker & Geer, 1957). With young children these problems are compounded by the difficulty strange adults have eliciting response to their questions, especially responses that the researcher can assume actually reflect the child's understandings and interpretations of the situation (Labov, 1972, p. 191). The status differences that generally hold between children and adults in school contexts make good interview data extremely hard to get unless researchers are willing to "alter aspects of their adult characteristics so that, if they are not perceived as children, they may be

perceived as out-of-the-ordinary adults" (Tammivaara & Enright, 1986, p. 229).

As I have described, I achieved a comfortable relationship with the children by peripherally participating in their activities and play. However, attempts to elicit more understanding of their behaviors through direct questioning, which they no doubt saw as my reasserting adult control (Corsaro, 1981), generally resulted in very little useful information. I finally resorted to a sociometric technique (Hallinan, 1981) to get some notion of their feelings towards their peers. I simply asked each child with whom she would like to play, and I limited her choices to three other students. However, to prevent these "sociometric interviews" from appearing to the children as adult meddling, I always followed the question with a session of free play involving the interviewee and her choices. These child's-choice small-group sessions took place inside in the housekeeping area before lunch, when the other preschoolers were outside, or in the sandbox right before nap, when all the other children were lying down. Again, this arrangement suited the teachers, because I assumed responsibility for supervising the children's play and for subsequently getting the children seated for lunch or settled down for nap.

Thus, my interviewing, though producing little useful data, led to other opportunities to observe small-group free

play. As before, I used audio-taping in these situations to fill out my fieldnotes. These play sessions were like the small classroom group sessions previously described, in that interactions were restricted to four children, with other preschoolers either not present or engaged with their teachers in other activities. However, all the sociometric groups, as with all the classroom groups, were ethnically mixed and produced interactional data that proved theoretically important in the analysis.

Finally, in March and April I recorded four extended, whole-group play sessions (two indoors and two out) on video tape. By late March, when I introduced the video equipment, my standing with the children and staff was comfortable, and my explanations were well received. Unfortunately the remote microphone closely resembled those they had seen on television, and they were unable to resist performing with it for a time. Nevertheless, early in the first session they lost interest in this game, permitting some very good video recording of free play episodes. It needs to be emphasized that the video-taping played a small part in my total data collection. I did not attempt it until I felt I already had arrived at a good understanding of how the children's social world operated. It would have been difficult to introduce video recording early in the study, both because I would have had insufficient understanding of the setting to know what to record and because it would have

been disruptive of the children's play (Corsaro, 1982, p. 156). When I finally recorded, it was possible to choose episodes of theoretical importance and to minimize disruption. My aim in doing limited video recording was to preserve representative interactional episodes in order to permit a more micro-ethnographic analysis of verbal and non-verbal interactive behaviors (Erickson & Wilson, 1982, p. 40). The video recordings also served as a validation device in my analysis, permitting me to repeatedly refer to them while refining categories in the constant comparative process of grounded theory analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Data Analysis

As Bogdan and Biklen (1982) write, data analysis is a "process of systematically searching and analyzing the interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and other materials that you accumulate to increase your understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others" (p. 145). As systematic as one strives to be, the process is, nevertheless, a subjective one in which "different researchers might generate different categories, definitions, and rules from the same set of incidents" (Grove, 1988, p. 277). Thus, I must emphasize at the outset that, though I conscientiously sought to ground my emerging theories in the data, my conclusions are inevitably a

product of personal "experiential data" (Strauss, 1987, p. 11) as well. As Glaser (1978) pointed out, this need not be seen as a handicap, but rather a source of the "theoretical sensitivity" necessary in qualitative analysis. Like Silvers (1983), I think it is vital to "preserve the interpretive presence of the researcher within his study: in his relationship to those studied; in his explanation of communicative meaning; and in the transformation of his knowledge." Thus "the investigator's sentiment and understanding are brought analytically into the telling of research" (1983, p. 103).

What one seeks to discover through this analytic process is "the world as seen through the eyes of the participant and ... the basic social processes or structures that organize that world" (Hutchinson, 1986, p. 51). In the terms of grounded theory (Glaser, 1978, p. 95), researchers ought to be seeking "the 'main theme' ... what--in their view--is the main concern or problem for the people in the setting, ... what sums up in a pattern of behavior the substance of what is going on in the data." This is the "core variable" central to the analytical process outlined in Glaser (1978) and Strauss (1987). In this study the core variable was the Mexican-American children's striving to control their involvement with others, to gain power in social interactions, and to adapt to their lack of such power. As we shall see, this variable helps us understand

why the Spanish-speaking children limited their interactions with the English speakers to play requiring little verbalization.

To claim that such theory is grounded simply means that the variable categories and their connections are generated directly from the study of the data. Glazer and Strauss (1967) define theory as grounded if it will

...fit the situation being researched, and work when put into use. By "fit" we mean that the categories must be readily (not forcibly) applicable to and indicated by the data under study; by "work" we mean that they must be meaningfully relevant to and be able to explain the behavior under study. (p. 3)

Discovering a central theme does not imply that grounded theory analysis leads to a simplistic view of social system. On the contrary, complexity is a key assumption:

A theory, to avoid simplistic rendering of the phenomena under study, must be conceptually dense --there are many concepts and many linkages among them It is necessary to do detailed, intensive, microscopic examination of the data in order to bring out the amazing complexity of what lies in, behind and beyond those data. (Strauss, 1987, p. 10)

Examination of the data proceeds from "specific incidents to general categories, definitions, and rules" (Grove, 1988, p. 277) in an inductive process, a process labeled "constant comparative method" by Glaser (1965, pp. 439-444). As in any inductive inquiry, one begins with the collection of data and derives propositions or hypotheses from relationships that emerge from the data themselves.

Further, the emerging hypotheses are not even provisionally tested by a search for negative cases. Rather,

the constant comparative method is concerned with generating and plausibly suggesting many properties and hypotheses about a general phenomenon ... some of these properties may be causes; but ... others are conditions, consequences, dimensions, types, processes, etc. No attempt is made to ascertain either the universality or the proof of suggested causes or other properties. (Glaser, 1965, p. 438)

The goal is an integrated theory centered around a core variable.

I began by coding the data at the substantive level, using, when possible, in vivo labels (labels derived directly from the data) for the coded categories. At first, I coded "openly," i.e., "coding the data in every way possible" (Glaser, 1978, p. 56). My aim was to produce concepts that fit the data and to describe each unit of data (a whole episode, a sentence, or merely a word or gesture) along as many dimensions as possible. Strauss (1987) recommends following a coding paradigm by which one references the data units being coded in terms of their functions as conditions, consequences, strategies and tactics, or interactions of larger phenomena being studied. Thus, for example, I coded a child's crying in response to the unwanted approach of another child as part of an approach-avoidance interactional sequence, as an example of using "crying for adult intervention" as a tactic, as a consequence of being forced into an unwanted interaction, or

as a condition under which an interactional episode will be quickly terminated without a possibility of negotiating an accommodation. In this manner my open coding broke the data down into many small units and yet classified each data unit (at least tentatively) as part of an emerging theoretic whole.

The theoretical role I chose for each data unit was tentative because every unit was subject to constant comparison. I compared each incident in the data with all the others in an analytic category before it was assigned to that category. The categories became meaningful as I began to see them "in terms of the full range of types or continua of the same category, its dimensions, the conditions under which it is pronounced or minimized its major consequences, the relation of the category to other categories, and other properties of the category" (Glaser, 1965, p. 439). Of course some categories proved to be invalid and had to be altered to fit the data and some were discarded entirely. For example, I initially focused on "silent staring" as a major behavioral category typifying a wide range of defensive tactics. This proved to be an exaggerated view of the role of "silent staring." This behavior was actually a relatively uncommon phenomenon that was later subsumed under the broad category of "staying out."

Those categories that did prove to be valid descriptors of the data, eventually became "theoretically saturated" (Glaser, 1965, p. 441-442), that is, additional data did not further develop the properties of the category. As additional incidents occurred in the data they proved similar to ones coded earlier and neither added new dimensions to the category nor further clarified its position in the emerging theory. When this happened, I considered the category saturated. The category, "silent staring," for example, quickly became saturated--it occurred infrequently, followed a predictable sequence, and its later examples added nothing new to the concept.

After open coding had proceeded for a time, I had to choose some categories that warranted more intensive scrutiny. Strauss (1987) refers to this intermediate level as axial coding, by which he means building up "a dense texture of relationships around the 'axis' of the category being focused upon" (p. 64). The previously described phenomenon of a child's whining or crying to adults when approached by another child can serve to illustrate this process. I first laid out as many properties and dimensions of crying-to-adults as could be identified (e.g., where it occurred, in the context of which activities, by which children, in the presence of which other children, to which adults addressed, as a part of which kinds of interactional sequences, and resulting in what range of consequences), and

then attempted to relate it to other phenomena in as many ways as possible (e.g., how did it resemble other tactics for discouraging unwanted social encounters, and how did it relate to other situations in which adults are called or not called into peer interactions).

In the final level of coding, selective coding (Glaser, 1978, p. 61; Strauss, 1987, p. 69), I sought to link all the other subordinate categories to the core category. As mentioned above, this was "controlling involvement," the category that seemed to explain the largest part of variation in the patterns of behavior I was studying. At this stage, I dropped from consideration unrelated themes in the data and selectively examined the data in order to "exhaustively itemize and relate ... subcategories of the core category" (Strauss, 1987, p. 70). The clusters of analysis, such as those focused on crying and staring, developed through axial coding I tied to the core category and to one another to create a theoretical picture that was well integrated and parsimonious. Coding was a sequential process, beginning with descriptively naming the discrete phenomena I found in the data, followed by naming and describing the connections and relationships between these phenomena, and ending in naming the theme that tied everything together.

It is important at this point to relate the rather abstract business of coding to the two concrete processes

that accompany it: theoretical sampling and memoing. In fact, memoing is the key to the analytic process. A memo is just what the word implies: "a record of events, or of observations, especially for future use" (SOED, 1973, p. 1305). One simply writes for future reference whatever thoughts occur about observed social behaviors: one's records of them, one's analysis of them, and even one's readings and recollections of literature relevant to them. I found myself using memos to elaborate the provisions of my codes; to settle on names for codes, the appropriateness of in vivo codes or "sociologically constructed" codes (Strauss, 1987, p. 33); to record my shifting attention to other areas of data (i.e., theoretical sampling); to record the connections between categories; and, most important, to develop the theoretical connections from which the core category emerged.

The most important thing about memos is simply that one does them. One needs to write down everything that comes to mind and not worry about its relevance or how it relates to the analysis. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar are not a central concern in memo writing. Strauss (1987) was emphatic on how important memos become in the final integrative stages of analysis. By sorting, sequencing, and re-sorting related memos to pull together all the bits of preliminary analysis of specific phenomena, the researcher

begins to extract the final, integrated form of a grounded theory.

Sampling is a process common to all research methodologies, but in qualitative research it involves procedures quite different from those used in quantitative research and statistical analysis. Initially, where I collected data was determined by the general problem that generated my inquiry in the first place (e.g., how does second language acquisition proceed within the peer interactions of young children?), not by a "preconceived theoretical framework" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45). However, remembering that the purpose of the "grounded theory" process "is to generate theory, not to establish verifications with 'facts'" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 48), subsequent sampling decisions were dictated by the theory emerging from the data and were often quite unrelated to the original question.

When theoretically sampling, I took slices of data from whatever sources were available, in order to understand the properties and theoretical connections of a category from as many perspectives as possible. When I began to see a pattern emerge from my data of "children avoiding the social overtures of others by ignoring them," I sought to fill out that category by looking for it in as many settings as possible and amongst as many different children as possible. I looked back to previously recorded data,

examined the children's interview transcripts for mentions of ignoring and avoiding, and concentrated on closely recording the dialogue and gestures that accompanied ignoring in any of the interactions I subsequently observed. I also asked teachers if they had observed ignoring behavior and how they interpreted it. Even as I began to write the analysis, I looked again at my video recordings to be sure I had a complete picture of the avoiding phenomenon. This accumulation of data slices is a form of the triangulation of data (Denzin, 1978, p. 340) common to all qualitative analysis.

Once again, it needs to be emphasized that the process of grounded theory development continuously involves the three interacting sub-processes of data gathering (theoretical sampling), coding or analysis, and memo writing that in turn leads to more sampling. The process ends only when the theoretical categories are complete or saturated. Constant comparison of incident to incident, then concept to more incidents, then concept to concept leads to saturation or "establishing the best fit of many choices of concepts to a set of indicators, ...[and] the integration into hypotheses between the concepts which become the theory" (Glaser, 1978, p. 50).

At this point it is appropriate to briefly discuss questions of validity and reliability in the data gathering and analysis described above. Concerns about these issues

have been extensively discussed elsewhere (Lecompte & Goetz, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As observed by Schatzman and Strauss (1973), the issues of validity and reliability are tied to the expectations of the audience to which the research is addressed: what will be their interests, needs and demands, and "what [will] their sense of credibility ... allow them to accept" (p. 130).

Validity, as broadly defined in Lecompte and Goetz (1982), is the degree to which "the propositions generated, refined, or tested match the causal conditions which obtain in human life" (p. 43). They pointed out that validity in fact is a strength of qualitative research, since researchers commonly spend such long periods in intimate contact with the subjects of their research. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 301) used the term credibility but made the same point. The length of time in the field, the amount of data generated, and the different methods used to generate data all contribute to establishing a close, believable fit between the constructs generated by the researcher and the phenomenon being studied.

I would argue that the length of time I spent in the field (7 months) and the intensity of my data gathering (32 all-day observations and one day of preliminary participation with the staff), and the use I made of multiple sources (observation, interview, audio tape, and video tape) are sufficient to meet the criteria for

credibility set out by Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 301-307).

Similarly, generalizability of my results to other settings, external validity or "transferability" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) depends on how well I have described the setting and subjects in this section and how convincing is my description in the next. What external validity in qualitative research ultimately involves is whether or not the research setting is described in sufficient detail to allow the study's results to be compared to results generated in other similar settings. The extent to which I have described the subjects and setting in this chapter and the more detailed description I provide in the next are designed to allow that comparability or translatability (Lecompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 51).

Any discussion of reliability must begin some basic epistemological questions. If social reality is not thought of being "out there" and readily discoverable through proper technique, but rather as an ever-changing construction of the participants, then the question of an inquiry's replication by another researcher must remain moot. It is more useful to phrase the question as Schatzman and Strauss (1973) did. "Does the researcher's analysis, which was probably based upon a different perspective or framework from theirs, actually help the audience explain--albeit in a new way--their own experiences?" (p. 135). Or as Bogdan and Biklen (1982, p. 44) ask, "Will two researchers

independently studying the same setting or subjects come up with the same findings?" As in the discussion of validity, the point here is simply that settings and subjects never remain the same over time even for the same researcher. The detail in which I describe my research will determine the ability of another researcher to compare results. How reliable or replicable my results are, however, also depends on an understanding of my status as a researcher in the setting (Lecompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 37). I have discussed above the nature of my relationship to the children and teachers who were the subjects of this research and the conditions under which I collected and analyzed my data. In addition, earlier in this chapter I described the experiences and circumstances that led me to become interested in the questions raised in this study (pp. 65-66). In this section I clarified my own personal perspectives on the research and the stance I took towards the subjects, data gathering, and conclusions.

To return to the concept of grounded theory, the connection between my data and my conclusions will be convincing only if I have provided a sufficiently detailed description of the setting and subjects and an honest portrayal of my own relationship to them.

CHAPTER III
THE SITUATION: A COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS

Introduction

An important concern for the children in this study was controlling their involvement with others. By involvement is meant "the capacity of an individual to give, or withhold from giving his concerted attention to some activity--a solitary task, a conversation, a collaborative work effort" (Goffman, 1963, p. 43). By controlling their social involvement with both peers and adults, the children were striving to deal with the principal problems they encountered in the setting: their limited influence over (or, at times, even limited understanding of) classroom routines and activities; their imperfect command of language, especially of the dominant language, English; and their lack of mature social interaction skills.

It is essential, moreover, to see these problems as important in themselves and not merely as factors in the children's growth and development. It is no doubt true that 4- and 5-year-old girls use social and language skills that change as they grow older. However, the themes that emerged from the data emphasized what these children could do, as well as what they could not, what they were doing at the

moment, as well as what they may have been preparing to do later.

It is appropriate to view the difficulties the children encountered coping with the novel and sometimes hostile conditions of the preschool, their lack of fluency in spoken English, and their cautious approach to socialization and play as analogous to similar adult dilemmas. These types of problems are not unique to Mexican-American preschoolers. Careful monitoring of one's social involvement is the expected adult reaction when thrust into unfamiliar settings where the language spoken is not one's own and where relationships with others are new and still uncertain. This should be kept in mind as one follows the description of the specifics of these eight children's concerns in this particular setting.

In addition, the difficulties confronting the children varied from context to context within the center. For many years, researchers of early childhood social interaction and play have noted that specific locations within a preschool or day care setting seem to give rise to specific patterns of social participation (Parten, 1932). More recently, the issue of contextual effect on play has been reexamined from an interactionist perspective (Cook-Gumperz and Corsaro, 1977; Mandell, 1984; 1986). In this view, contexts are more than the mere physical location of a center or inventories of how these centers are equipped. Context also includes

both the definitions lent a particular part of the classroom or playground by adults (e.g., only block play is permitted in the block area) and the definition created by the child users in the course of their using the area (e.g., the sandbox may, in quick succession, be a site for dramatic play with a housekeeping theme and then a site for largely non-verbal, parallel play with cars and trucks).

Some areas in the Fern Lake center formed contexts that permitted only a limited range of social interaction. The tables at mealtimes and during small group activities and all the "high traffic" areas (e.g., stairways, doors, bathrooms, slides) had specific functions and were not used for extended social participation. These contexts rarely allowed dramatic play or social conversation; interactions were generally restricted to brief comments, quick conflict resolutions, and silently going about one's business. On the other hand, at times some of these same settings could create quite different contexts. For example, the table area that was so restricted at meal time could become the center for a wide range of activities when the children were permitted access to the housekeeping materials there. Other areas had no clear teacher-assigned functions and generally allowed a wide range of social participation, from silent sitting to social play among several children, e.g. the sandbox and tire-swing/platform areas in the play yard. Finally, a few settings permitted the children to develop

the most intimate and peer-controlled of activities: social dramatic play and peer conversation. The former occurred almost exclusively in the kitchen area and outdoor playhouse; the latter on the tire swing. However, these areas were not always accessible to children. Opportunities for extended play were so circumscribed by the organization of center routines and by the children's lack of a common language that socio-dramatic play was not the only focus of the study but rather one example of a wide range of social behaviors through which the children explored their "social network" (King, 1986). In this setting, extended dramatic play sessions were not common enough to be seen as characteristic or typical forms of social interaction.

To operate successfully in the social network of the Head Start center, the children exercised a tight control over their involvement with others. They always had to deal with their lack of familiarity with and control of the setting and routines, the pervasiveness of English in discourse, and the demands of peer interaction. Peer and adult interactions were always in flux; the boundaries between contexts and between levels of social participation--from solitary unoccupied sitting to complex collaborative dramatic role play--were difficult to maintain. Interruption by both adults and peers was constant, a phenomenon noted by other observers (Corsaro, 1979) in similar settings. There were few sustained

interactions outside of the adult-established routines of meals and planned activities. During free play, the children shifted from place to place, changed their patterns of association, and adjusted the themes of their play continuously. The limited opportunities the children had to maintain dramatic play or their own peer conversations were highly valued and protected.

However, the common concern across all contexts and types of interaction was the children's striving to control the content, pace, and membership in their encounters, "to guide and control the responses made by the others present" (Goffman, 1959, p. 4), and, failing this, striving to cope with their lack of power. The children made their own social worlds, but they did not make them just as they pleased.

Control of Classroom Activities

The children's most obvious difficulty was that the classroom--its physical environment, membership, activities and routines--was not of the children's making and was controlled by adults. In addition, the adults came from a different cultural background and spoke a different language. Though interactions between adults and children are always reciprocal, their common world is a collaborative creation in which adults are unarguably more powerful.

Adults planned each day's activities and established daily routines: when children were to sit (and with whom), stand, lie down, speak, eat, drink (and, of course, what they could eat and drink), and when they could use the bathroom. Though Head Start curricula are expected to encourage self-direction and provide children with choices from several activities, the Fern Lake Center, not unlike many other centers, rarely offered alternatives.

The teachers usually expected the children to just sit and color or to read a book during the morning "free play" period. Breakfast followed, and, like lunch, it was a regimented activity: All the children sat at the same time, waited to get up until all were finished, and were expected to eat what was served, even though for many of the children it was often quite unfamiliar food. Morning activity time, immediately after breakfast, usually consisted of a simple, whole-group activity followed by a small-group activity, each group doing the same sit-down activity.

The 30 to 40 minutes of morning outdoor play time was the first period of the day that gave the children complete freedom to choose their activities. However, play time was followed by nearly three hours of structured routines: hand-washing, eating lunch, going to the bathroom, napping, and eating afternoon snack. The first bus route usually departed immediately after snack, so only the second bus

group ever had much of a second free play period (see Table 2, p. 53).

What follows are detailed descriptions of teacher-planned activities (both whole-group and small-group), meals, and free play time. These descriptions reveal a setting in which the children, especially the Spanish-speaking children, had little control over the structure or content of the day's activities. However, within this adult-controlled framework, the children always found some room to maneuver. Even in the most regimented of routines, such as lunch, children managed to exercise some degree of control over their interactions with both peers and adults.

Morning Activity Time

Planned morning activities followed breakfast and lasted about 45 to 60 minutes. First there were 15 to 20 minutes of whole-group activities, either teachers leading the children in songs and dances or teachers going around the circle asking questions of each child. Each of these routines was strictly managed by adults and offered little opportunity for children to exercise control over their interactions.

In a typical whole-group activity, the four preschool teachers would place all the children in a circle, sometimes allowing children to choose with whom they would stand, sometimes not. Then, either a record of preschool songs was played with the teachers' singing along and urging the

children to do likewise, or the teachers sang and danced the movements to a song known to them and to the children from the black community (e.g., "Going to Kentucky" or "Shake-it, Baby, Shake-it"). On occasion, the teachers permitted a child to choose the song to be sung, but no Spanish songs or dances of Hispanic origin were ever performed. All the children were required to remain in the circle except when excused to use the bathroom, and talk or movement unrelated to the planned performance was not permitted. After February, each child was required during circle activities to stand on his or her own name tag, which the teachers had taped to the floor. The name tags formed a large circle and were arranged so that boys alternated with girls and Spanish speakers with English speakers. A good example of a whole-group activity is illustrated in the following selection from the field notes:

#1, Date: March 12, Morning

Sixteen preschoolers are standing in a circle, each on his or her name tag. Four teachers stand behind the children and closely monitor their behavior. A teacher announces that they will sing and dance, "Going to Kentucky," a children's chant well known in the local black community. The teachers line the children up in pairs:

Luisa-Tonya

Felicia-Janie

Theo-Raquela

Ebony-Estela

José-Lonnie

Rosa-Sam

Caridad-Sharee

Estela refuses to dance with Ebony, nor will José join Lonnie; they join Caridad and Sharee, who refused to dance at all. Sam and Ebony then dance, as do Rosa and Lonnie. Of the original pairs, only Luisa, Tonya, Felicia and Janie dance with some enthusiasm. Theo tries to lead Raquela who remains in the circle but makes only halting, reluctant movements.

A teacher then asks the children what they would like to sing next, and several, Hispanic and English-speaking children, suggest "Farmer in the Dell," a musical game that most know, which permits the children to choose their own partners.

The teacher replies, "No, we don't want to sing that. Let's sing one of our new songs." She refers to the new record of preschool songs that they have played earlier in the week. These songs include primarily musical recitations of concepts (e.g., color, shapes) and are poorly known by all the children. When these songs begin, most children stop moving, look at the teachers and quietly mouth the words.

Whole-group question and answer sessions provided a similar lack of opportunity for children's input. Children usually sat or stood with whomever they wished and occasionally talked amongst themselves while others were answering the teachers' questions. The questions concerned either the identification of objects or concepts (e.g., colors, animal flash cards) or the recitation of personal information (e.g., name, age, address, best friend). As in the previous activity, all the children stayed in the circle throughout the lesson and were expected to at least attempt to participate. Children were never asked what they wanted to talk about, nor was the activity ever conducted in Spanish (except for one teacher's occasional use of a few Spanish phrases). Here is a typical example of a question and answer session.

#2, Date: January 16, Morning

1-Teacher: Now let's see if we know our addresses. I live on Main Street in Palmetto Park. How about you, Luisa, what street do you live on?

Luisa: Fern Lake

2-Teacher: She lives on Summit Street. Say Summit Street, Luisa.

Luisa (Looking down): Summit Street.

1-Teacher: What street do you live on, Tonya?

Tonya: I don't know.

1-Teacher: Say "Oak Road," Tonya.

Tonya: (smiles, looks down, says nothing).

1-Teacher: Do you know where you live, Janie?

Janie (loud, smiling): I live in a trailer house.

Teachers: (All laugh, discuss among themselves that indeed Janie has no address, but lives in an old trailer in the woods.)

1-Teacher: Do you know your street, Ebony?

Ebony: I live on a dirt road.

1-Teacher: But what's it called?

Ebony (loud): Summit Street.

2-Teacher: No you don't. It's Cedar Road.

1-Teacher: Where do you live, Ana?

Ana: (looks at teacher; then, expressionless and silent, she looks down.)

1-Teacher: Caridad, donde vives? (Where do you live?)

Caridad: (looks down, silent)

1-Teacher: Do you know where you live, Estela?

Estela: (looks down, silent)

2-Teacher: She lives in Fruitland. Say Fruitland, Estela.

Estela: (still looking down, remains silent)

1-Teacher: Do you know, Raquela?

Raquela: (looks down, silent)

1-Teacher: O.K., José, where do you live?

Theo: He ain't gonna say.

José: (says something indistinct, sounds like "Santa Claus"; 2-Teacher reminds him that they are not talking about Santa Claus but about where he lives)

2-Teacher: You live on Old Highway 17, José.

José: (looks around at the other children, smiling, no response to 2-Teacher).

Theo: (announces before asked) I live on a dirt road!

2-Teacher: No you don't, you live on Grove Street.

1-Teacher: Where do you live, Rosa?

Rosa: Long Station.

2-Teacher: No, Rosa, you live on Cherry Street.

Rosa: Uh uh. (Shakes head)

2-Teacher: You do too live on Cherry Street.

Rosa: (looks down, shakes head again)

Both of these examples of whole group activities illustrate the problems the children encountered in such situations. They found themselves sitting, standing, or even dancing with children with whom they themselves might not have chosen to associate. They also were expected to sing songs, perform dance steps, and recite information with which they were unfamiliar. Neither Caridad nor Estela ever danced with anyone, and Lonnie would never have consented to dance with José (though José did on occasion dance alone and might have been persuaded to dance with a willing partner). Even the least verbal of the children (e.g., Caridad or

Raquela) liked to sing English songs that they had learned well, such as "Farmer in the Dell," but all the children hesitated with songs they knew poorly.

The confusion and resistance revealed in the question-and-answer session is especially poignant since these were all the children of migrant farm workers. The black children were from the local area and familiar enough with the community to know something about where they lived. Nevertheless, even some of them, such as Tonya, were unsure. The Hispanic children had all lived in many places in the U.S. and Mexico and had most likely not even lived in the same place in the Fern Lake area for more than a few months. Janie's confident response and its reception by the teachers reveals a great deal about the gap between child and adult perceptions.

After whole-group activities, the children were assigned by the teachers to one of four small groups (see Table 3). Small-group table activities usually consisted of simple arts and crafts projects planned by the teachers. The projects often reflected a seasonal theme (e.g., paper turkeys for Thanksgiving, cup and foil bells for Christmas, dyed eggs for Easter). As with the large group activities, the specific content of these projects was generally familiar to the local children but novel to some of the Mexican-American migrants, especially those who had more

Table 3: Small Groups

Group A

Tonya
 Theo (later replaced by Sam)
 Maria (later replaced by Alberto)
 Luisa

Group B

Sharee
 Rosa
 Raquela
 Janie

Group C

Ana
 Ebony
 José
 Caridad

Group D

Felicia
 Lonnie
 Estela
 Wanda (later replaced
 by Theo)

recently arrived from Mexico. Small group activities typically required close attention to the teachers' instructions. Children who understood the teachers' instructions and who were skilled at reproducing what they were shown often joined the teachers in pointing out the right way to do things to other children.

On the other hand, as long as the children talked quietly and did not interrupt the teacher (or blatantly do the activity the "wrong way"), they were generally left to sit, talk among themselves, or even, with permission, leave their tables to visit another group. The teachers and children in fact were, engaged in quite different, almost independent projects. As the teachers strove to have the children do the planned projects, the children made every

attempt to socialize and amuse themselves.³ A portion of a typical small group table activity is presented here.

#3, Date: December 12, Morning

Table group C (Ana, Ebony, José, Caridad) sitting with English speaking teacher who knows no Spanish. Caridad's toddler brother, Isac, is with her. Group is coloring a dittoed Christmas tree outline after which they are to cut it out; having finished his/her tree picture each will be asked what he/she wants for Christmas; the teacher will then print these requests on a poster to which the cut-out trees will be posted. Caridad: (quietly cutting the tree out, without having colored it first)

Teacher: No cut. No cut. Color it all first.

Caridad: (Looks at the teacher, stops cutting, points at paper).

Teacher: (Nods) Si, coloré (a made-up Spanish word).

Caridad: (Sets down scissors and begins to color tree)

Ana: I want this (another Christmas tree outline; she has finished one)

Teacher: You did yours; tell me what you want (i.e., what you want for Christmas, so I can print it near your tree).

³The pattern for pre-breakfast activities was similar, since most of the free choices available to the children were the same sorts of teacher-planned arts and crafts. The main difference was that, before breakfast, children did not need to sit in their groups, but could choose where to sit.

Ana: I want this. This mine? (i.e., wants the second tree outline, clearly doesn't understand she is to say what she wants for Christmas. Teacher then asks me to ask Ana what she wants for Christmas in Spanish; I do so and print it near her posted tree. Meanwhile, Ebony, having finished her tree, gets up and comes up behind Caridad, who is now standing by her chair; she takes hold of Caridad's long hair, rolls it up into a bun and holds it against Caridad's head; she then pushes Caridad from table to table asking the teachers and children to look at how she has fixed Caridad's hair. Caridad looks very annoyed, but says nothing and makes no move to break away from Ebony.

Later the children are shown by a teacher how to make a jingle bell Christmas ornament by wrapping foil around a styrofoam cup and threading a piece of yarn, to which is tied a small metal bell, through the bottom of the cup)

Ebony: (having finished her bell gets up and goes to the table where Lonnie is seated to show him her bell)

Lonnie: (yells back to Ebony's table, tattling on her for being out of her seat)--Ebony, Ebony, Ebony

Ebony: (ignores him, continues to show her bell to others)

Ana and Caridad: (softly sing "Jingle Bells" together)

Janie: (comes from another table to show her bell to

Ana; she has pasted a Santa Claus sticker on hers)

I got Santa Claus! (to whole table)

Ana: Mira, esta tiene Santa Claus. (to Caridad,

translating Janie's English)

Janie: Mira, look, teacher. (translating for herself to teacher)

Ana: (leans over to teacher, whispers) I go show Miss

Connie? (asking permission to show her bell to the Hispanic teacher)

Teacher: (nods and smiles)

Ana: (goes to other table)

Caridad and Isac: (sit together chatting inaudibly)

Caridad: (sings) Jingle Bells, Jingle Bells, Jingle Bell, away.

Neither Caridad nor Ana understood what the Christmas tree project was all about. Even when cued by the teacher with some imaginative psuedo-Spanish, Caridad joined in only briefly. She took no part in the bell-making project at all. Ebony's amusement with Caridad's hair was a striking example of the diversions children could create in the midst of a planned activity. She risked being reprimanded but was not, perhaps because Caridad said nothing.

The bell activity was actually done primarily by the teachers for the children, since the project was a bit too

difficult for the children's skills. The children had a lot of spare time as the teachers were occupied making bells. This allowed the verbally and socially adept to tease one another and move from table to table. Those more inclined to inactivity, such as Caridad and her toddler sibling, sat and sang familiar songs or chatted quietly.

In contrast to her response to the planned activity, Ana showed how verbally fluent she could be when pursuing her own ends. She easily translated Janie's English for Caridad (demonstrating that she understood the limits of Caridad's English) and followed with a persuasive English request to the teachers. This episode nicely illustrates how the children's projects often had little to do with those presented by the teachers.

The patterns that emerged from the planned activities recurred with variations in other contexts. The teachers set the general rules and expectations for what the children were to be doing and how they were to be doing it. Although the children usually strove to perform as expected, they also attempted to control their involvement with teachers and peers. The amount of control the children could exercise varied from activity to activity. At times the teachers' plans left the children opportunities to socialize nearly as they pleased; in other situations the only options available were doing as they were told or quietly declining. No matter how restrictive the context, children still

attempted to maintain some control over their social interaction. Even during meals, the most predictable of routines, this pattern was clear.

Meals

Three meals were served each day: breakfast, lunch, and afternoon snack, and the degree to which adults controlled the routines varied at the three meals. Afternoon snack was served on the playground at the picnic tables immediately after nap and was usually quite informal. Children were allowed to sit with whomever they liked and could get up when finished without waiting for the others. Children could, and sometimes did, skip snack altogether. Teachers often did not sit with the children, and conversation among peers was essentially unrestricted.

Breakfast was usually served after the second bus route concluded but might be served without the second group, if it were unusually late. If all the children were not present, some might be allowed to sit at a table with children not in their usual small group. Early in the year when separating siblings was difficult, younger siblings were often allowed to sit with their older sisters and brothers for breakfast. Even later, especially when the bus was late, all the children sometimes ate together. Because some children ate breakfast before they got on the bus, not everyone ate at the center, nor did the teachers insist upon it. Not all teachers had arrived by breakfast, so adults

usually moved from table to table supervising the serving but not sitting with the children throughout the meal. Children got up and moved about quite a bit during breakfast and talked among themselves freely.

Lunch was the most adult-controlled meal. The teachers always sat at the tables with their groups, and the children sat in their assigned seats. Everyone was expected to eat and urged to do so by the teachers. This was the main meal of the day, and the children might not eat again for six or seven hours. Also, lunch gave the teachers an opportunity to follow the Head Start guidelines for meal service that called for "family style" serving (i.e., passing bowls and plates around the table from which all, children and adults, help themselves), constant adult attendance at meals, adults eating only what the children were eating, and adults leading discussions about the food (both to encourage eating and to promote concept development, e.g., colors, shapes, number, texture).

The formality of this meal required that all children remain seated from the start until everyone had finished. No one was permitted to move from the table without the teachers' permission. Usually, requests to use the bathroom or to go to another table to get food or napkins were granted. Children were permitted to talk quietly among themselves, but the amount of attention paid to serving and discussing food left little room for peer interaction.

#4, Date: December 5, noon

Teacher: Pass it please, Raquela (i.e., the bowl of
broccoli, from which she has taken none)

Raquela: (shakes head, looking down; does not reach for
bowl; perhaps thinks she is being asked to take
some)

Janie: I like this, teacher. (picks the broccoli bowl
up from in front of Raquela, helps herself, and
passes it)

Teacher: That's good, Janie.

Raquela: Milk. (holds up empty cup)

Teacher: (gets and fills cup from pitcher). Quietly
pass the chicken and noodles (to Tonya, who does
so to Theo; then she takes Theo's spoon, since she
has none).

Theo: Stop! (loud shout to Tonya)

Tonya: (gives Theo his spoon back). Teacher, where my
fork? (Teacher gives her a spoon).

Teacher: Rosa, eat with your spoon. (she stops using
fingers, picks up spoon; Janie and Raquela
continue to use their fingers, but are not
noticed). See, the broccoli's good. Sharee is
eating hers.

Janie: I like it.

Teacher: Theo, use your spoon. (He does so).

Raquela: (picks up her spoon, tries to eat noodles with it, gives up, uses fingers).

Janie: Hey, Susan (the teacher's name), that's a round circle. (i.e., a little bowl on the table).

Teacher: Good, Janie.

This selection is a good example of how little opportunity there generally was during meals for open social interaction. The quiet children, such as Raquela, said and did very little. The more vocal ones, such as Janie, often joined in the "food-talk" encouraged by the teachers--bragging about liking unusual foods and making analogies between food and utensils and such concepts as colors and shapes. Conflicts were rarely worked out by the children, and adults were almost always involved in arriving at solutions. Meals, especially lunch, were the most predictable of social routines and seldom occasions for verbal creativity on the part of the children.

Free Play

Only outdoor free play periods allowed children to freely choose activities and partners. At times, the teachers sat or stood together to talk and left the children quite to themselves. More often teachers wandered about, playing or talking with the children. They intervened when children's disagreements seemed about to get out of hand, and they stopped children from doing things that seemed dangerous. Children who wanted to go back inside for a

drink or to use the bathroom had to get permission from a teacher. However, children seldom called on the adults when dealing with conflicts with other children. They seemed to prefer resolving things among themselves and avoiding unpredictable adult interventions in their play. When adults intervened in free play, the outcome seldom suited children on either side of a conflict.

#5, Date: March 12, 10:30 A.M.

Raquela, Luisa and Ana are playing in the plastic playhouse, when Felicia, Ebony, and Tonya come over with Felicia's baby sister, who is visiting the school with her mother. Ebony pushes the baby through the playhouse door to show her to the girls inside.

Luisa: Stop it! Stop it! Stop it! (pushes her out)

Ana: Stop! Ebony not my friend! I gonna get you!

Luisa: Get out! Get out!

(Teacher comes over to house)

Teacher: Why can't we play together? (Goes on to give long lecture on how "nice girls" should be able to play together; meanwhile Tonya, Felicia, Ebony and the baby have gone; Luisa, Ana, and Raquela stare silently at the teacher who is holding the door and blocking their exit; Luisa starts to cry; Ana looks about to cry; Raquela stares at the teacher without expression; the teacher asks Luisa why she is crying; gets no reply, pulls her out the door

and gives her a hug; with a final request that they be nice, she departs; Estela then joins Ana, Luisa, and Raquela, and they resume house-keeping play in Spanish; the English-speaking girls never return.

Loud disagreements on the playground often invited the intervention of teachers. However, as is evident here, the teachers could easily misunderstand the situation. It is clear that the English-speaking children did not intend to stay or enter into the Spanish-speakers' play, but the Hispanic children may not have understood this any better than the teacher. The children's vigorous resistance, in English, reflected the fact that the playhouse was a prized possession--the best place for dramatic housekeeping play at the center--and that the approach of four English speaking non-participants posed a threat to the Hispanics' exclusive access to it. The teacher's intervention suited no one; the English speakers had no intention of staying, and the Hispanics did not want them to. The extent to which Ana, Luisa, and Raquela were displeased is indicated by their tearful reactions. Nevertheless, the Hispanic girls quietly persisted, staying in the house until everyone, adult and unwelcome children, left and allowed them to resume their play. Simple, non-verbal persistence was a common tactic that the girls used to maintain control over their involvement in many contexts.

This episode illustrates well the broader issue of the children's general lack of control over social interaction in the classroom. Even in outdoor free play (and certainly in the more structured routines described above), children could not expect to construct their social involvements as they pleased or with whom they pleased. Though never without some control, they did not exercise the degree of control they would have liked.

Language Use in the Classroom

Introduction

As mentioned previously, only one teacher spoke Spanish, and she was moved to the toddler group before the first of the year. One of the English-speaking teachers spoke and understood a few Spanish phrases but could not participate in, or follow a Spanish conversation. I spoke Spanish with children to the extent that my observational role, as described in the methodology section, allowed. The great bulk of conversation with adults was in English, and activities were conducted almost exclusively in English. Finally, as found in other studies (Wong-Fillmore, 1979; Edelsky & Hudelson, 1982), none of the English-speaking children learned to converse in Spanish. Consequently, Spanish conversation was common only among the Hispanic children.

The Hispanic children's fluency in Spanish and English was never formally assessed by the teachers or by me.⁴ My judgment of their relative command of either language was based almost entirely on the language use I observed at the center. These observations may not reflect the children's complete linguistic ability or communicative competence. Since it has been repeatedly demonstrated (Labov, 1972) that language usage is heavily dependent on social context, no such claim was appropriate. In fact, teachers and parents occasionally noted language usage by a child quite different from that which I observed. For example, Estela's mother remarked in an interview that her daughter helped her by serving as a translator when they went shopping. This implied a level of English competence I never saw Estela display while she was at the center. My assessments of the degree to which the overwhelmingly English dominated environment of the center posed a problem to the children takes into account this second-hand information as well.

Though each child's response to and use of English was quite idiosyncratic, it is possible to place the eight girls into three rough groups according to the relative English competence each demonstrated. It should also be noted that

⁴Most of the children, Hispanic and English-speaking, were administered a general speech and language screening test by a Head Start consultant on December 12. The format was similar to that of the teacher-led question and answer activities common in the whole-group and small-group sessions. The responses of the children were not very different from their responses in these routine activities.

in only one case, Ana, did a child use significantly more English at the end of the study than at the beginning. The implications of the limited extent of second language acquisition demonstrated by the children will be discussed in a later section.

Monolingual Spanish Speakers

Caridad and Raquela showed the least facility with English from the beginning and retained that distinction to the end of the school year. For the first month, their response to English from child or adult was silent staring or looking down. Towards the end of December they responded to some teacher requests with the proper actions and could use a few simple words and phrases. For example, Caridad once told an English speaking child who was pushing her to "Stop," and both girls could make single word requests at meals (e.g., "milk") and use "thank you" appropriately with adults. Neither ever attempted a whole English sentence with an adult or another child. Both spent considerable time with English speaking teachers: sitting quietly near them, leaning against them, even sitting in their laps. Neither girl spoke English while interacting with the teachers, though Raquela was heard to tease one teacher several times in Spanish. Caridad's only extended use of English was one incident in which she used several phrases she had just heard teachers using when they served the afternoon snack. No one responded to her, and she attempted

no follow-up. Raquela, more than Caridad, was willing to be paired with English-speaking children and to follow instructions to dance with or accompany her partners on field trips. She never spoke to her English-speaking classmates, however, or responded directly to their speech to her.

By comparison, Caridad and Raquela were quite proficient in Spanish and willing to use it with adults and peers. Although both were rather shy, they talked readily to the Hispanic teacher and to me about their younger siblings and cousins who attended the same Head Start center. They both engaged in Spanish dramatic play with their peers, Raquela more than Caridad; both, however, preferred play with family members. Each responded readily to adult requests and instructions when given in or translated into Spanish.

Partial Bilinguals

Estela, Maria, and Ana formed a middle group who, almost from the beginning, used some English phrases and soon attempted whole sentences with both adults and children. All three, however, retained a reluctance to use or respond to English, especially when interacting with children, that quite clearly set them apart from the bilingual group: Luisa, Rosa, and Janie.

Estela from the first month was observed initiating (but not following up when responded to) conversations in

English (e.g., "Hey! How are you!" to an English-speaking teacher), though quickly switching back to Spanish when possible. By January, both Maria and Ana joined Estela with such openers as "I want this" and "There go mine." They all responded readily to adult instructions given in English and warded off the unwanted attentions of English-speaking children with such phrases as "Get down!" "Get out!" "Hey mine!" As mentioned, by February Ana had extended her use of English to limited social play with some English speakers and informal chatting with teachers during meals and activities.

Nevertheless, Estela, Luisa, and even Ana usually responded to English initiatives from children with silence and apparent lack of understanding. Ana's English social play attempts were short-lived and abandoned as soon as English speakers began to dominate the play. All three readily played out elaborate dramatic play scenarios in Spanish, involving complicated scripts of domestic and work activities. They never failed to respond to adult Spanish and were eager to discuss home, family, and school with me. The contrast between their ease with Spanish and English was striking.

Full Bilinguals

The three bilingual girls (Luisa, Janie, and Rosa) showed a less dramatic contrast between use of the two languages. Each showed facility in English when it was

necessary--Janie was probably the most fluent, Luisa perhaps the least. All three girls lived in home environments that provided considerably more exposure to English than the others: Luisa lived in downtown Fern Lake near many English-speaking neighbors; Rosa frequently stayed with her English-speaking grandparents; and Janie's mother was a native English speaker.

When addressed in English by an adult or child, all three girls answered in English without the silence or looking away characteristic of the others. They each used complete English sentences from the beginning and never seemed to need anything translated for them. In fact, Janie occasionally translated for English-speaking teachers when they were addressing less bilingual children.

Nevertheless, even these girls' usage of English had clear limits. Though they would respond to the English-speaking teachers' requests for answers or conversation, they rarely responded to the English of children with more than a short negative phrase clearly designed to discourage further discourse. They seldom engaged in extended conversation with English-speaking children or entered into dramatic play with them. Only Rosa played regularly with a non-Hispanic (Lonnie), but those activities were largely restricted to non-verbal, "rough-and-tumble" (Pellegrini, 1988) play. Lengthy, multi-sentenced conversation or play in English occurred just a few times for each girl.

Spanish was also used idiosyncratically by this trio. Luisa switched immediately into fluent Spanish at every opportunity. Once she knew that I understood Spanish, she often approached me to speak in Spanish about family, friends, and school. She behaved similarly toward the Hispanic teacher and occasionally spoke Spanish to the one English-speaking teacher who understood a little Spanish. Luisa was also one of the most active participants in Spanish dramatic play and often played a leading role. Both Rosa and Janie, on the other hand, were quite limited in their use of Spanish. They made brief responses to adults and children when addressed in Spanish, used complete sentences on occasion, but did not engage in Spanish conversation or play as extensively as Luisa. In fact, the limited facility demonstrated by Rosa and Janie in both Spanish and English suggested the "double semi-lingualism" reported in other language minority children who are fluent in neither their home language nor their acquired second language (Paulston, 1980, p. 61; Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1985, p. 34).

These brief linguistic profiles indicate some of the complications that the Hispanic girls' language use added to an already difficult social situation. Not only did they exercise little control over the flow of activities and routines or over the choice of adults and children with whom they interacted, but none of the girls had a command of

English sufficient for every situation. Spontaneous English conversation with adults was rare for all but Janie, but even she found her English inadequate at times. By mid-year, participation in teacher-led activities was possible for everyone except Caridad, Raquela, and Estela. However, none of the Hispanics, even in the rather predictable format of activities and meals, could participate as well as some of the English speakers.

English verbal involvement with other children was even more limited. In free play, where the opportunities were greatest for child-child interaction, few of the Hispanic girls attempted to converse or play in English. Rosa did at times, but only with Lonnie and usually in games of limited language, not in complex dramatic play. Janie used both English and Spanish in play with other Hispanics, but played rarely with English speakers. Only Ana and Luisa engaged in sustained verbal play with English speakers. In these incidents, the English dialogue was used in response to the comings and goings of the English speaking children (especially Ebony); Ana and Luisa returned to Spanish whenever left with only other Hispanics.

On the other hand, though several of the girls were skilled in dramatic play in Spanish, some found this difficult as well. Rosa and Janie simply did not speak Spanish well enough to participate fully. Caridad and Raquela did not often choose to play with their peers at

all, preferring the company of their younger siblings and cousins. In general, how children played and with whom could be easily predicted by the language patterns of the participants.

There is evidence, as well, that some of the Hispanic girls held racist attitudes toward their black, English-speaking classmates--similar to those held by white and Hispanic children in other studies (Aboud, 1988, pp. 29-34)--that may have affected social interaction. Using a sociogram format, I interviewed all the girls asking each with whom she would like to play. The children she chose then joined her for one of my audio-recorded sessions in the sand box or the indoor kitchen area. In these interviews, six Hispanic girls (all except Caridad and Raquela) chose black children as play partners. The black children named most often were Ebony and Felicia though Wanda, Sharee and Tonya were also mentioned. Rosa always made Lonnie her first choice. As for the two Hispanic children who did not name black play partners, Caridad named only her brother and cousin, and Raquela also restricted herself to family members. Raquela emphatically stated that she would not play with "mollos," a pejorative slang term for blacks.

In a second round of interviews, held in early March, the format was less structured. I simply asked each Hispanic girl with whom she played and why. Only Rosa readily admitted that she played with black children--

Lonnie, Ebony, Felicia, and Wanda. Ana and Caridad loudly insisted that they did not and would not, because "mollitos" [diminutive form of mollo] "se portaban bien mal" [behaved very badly], "pelean" [fight] and "nos dan asco" [make us sick]. Several of the other children nodded agreement. With follow-up questions, only Caridad remained hostile to the idea of playing with black children. Ana, Janie, and Estela admitted they liked to play with them, though Ana complained that she couldn't play with them very well because "las negritas no pueden hablar como nosotros hablamos" [the black girls can't talk the way we talk].

Observations of free play sessions and other activities that allowed free partner choice (e.g., some whole group activities and some field trips) revealed that 6 of the Hispanic girls regularly associated with black children. Raquela did so only infrequently and hesitantly; Caridad never did. Both Caridad and Raquela, however, seldom played with anyone but their own siblings and cousins. In sum, though the children showed racial awareness and some held negative racial attitudes, racial differences did not explain the patterns of social interaction nearly as well as did language differences.

Social Interaction Skills and Play

To interact and play with others, a child must first know how to initiate an interaction or enter into one that is on-going (Asher, Renshaw & Hymel, 1982, p. 139). Because

most interactions are quite short, and because most initiations are rejected and must be repeated (Corsaro, 1979, p. 330), familiarity with initiation techniques is crucial to successful social interaction in the preschool. For many preschoolers, that work is difficult and may in some cases lead children to avoid approaching others for long periods of time (Rubin, 1980, p. 50). Raquela, for example, attempted silent approaches to children at play early in the school year, but did not persist and soon ceased to try. In the following sequence, Raquela approached two black, English-speaking children (Ebony and Tonya).

#6, Date: November 19, Morning

Raquela, Ebony, and Tonya are in the sandbox; Ebony and Tonya together making cakes of sand while Raquela stands watching them with interest.

Raquela: (she walks around and smiles in Ebony's face)

Ebony: (Ignores Raquela and turns to Tonya). I making this! (pats her sand cake)

Tonya: (takes some sand from near Ebony)

Ebony: No you don't. (Tonya keeps sand and continues to make a cake near Ebony). Look, I have a cake. (to Tonya)

Raquela: (kneels near Ebony, smiles, takes some sand from near Ebony)

Ebony: No you don't; don't take no more!

Raquela: (Stops, backs up, continues to watch, smiles)

Raquela did not approach Ebony and Tonya again. She had tried two common approach tactics and been rejected each time. First she quietly drew near and signalled non-verbally, with a smile, her desire to join Ebony. Ebony pointedly ignored her and continued sand play with Tonya. Then she followed Tonya's lead moving right in and taking a little sand from Ebony. Ebony ordered her to stop, as she had earlier done to Tonya. Unlike Tonya, who had persisted and then been included in Ebony's game, Raquela withdrew after the second rejection and settled for watching from the sidelines.

If a child can enter into an interaction, she must next, in the face of constant interruption, construct and maintain the interaction as a "joint procedure" (Corsaro, 1985, p. 281) with the others involved. The debates, discussions, and negotiations required to keep interactions going are not easy to achieve at age four.

#7, Date: February 21, Afternoon

Janie, Rosa and Sharee, a black, English-speaking child, are in the sandbox each playing parallel to one another, pouring and molding their own sand as they watch the others. I am seated on the side of the sandbox.

Rosa: Echando agua ... tierra ... [Pouring water ... dirt ...] (she is pouring sand on to a baby doll, burying it).

Janie: (squats nearby watching, then joins in)

Both: Ya ... ya ... ya [Enough ... enough ...]

Rosa: (Suddenly gets up and moves away from Janie, taking her doll with her). Yo sola. [Me by myself].

Janie: (follows her and pours sand on the doll)

Rosa: Stop it! (to Janie) No mas! Yo sola! [No more, me by myself]. (moves again) All play alone for a while.

Rosa: I don't wanna baby. Who want this? (holds up doll)

Janie: Me (when Rosa does not resume pouring sand with her, she also leaves the doll and all play alone again).

Rosa: Mira, mira, Janie (Look, look, Janie). Oh gosh! (points to big sand pile)

Janie: (Ignores her)

Rosa: Oh gosh, oh golly!

Janie: Be right back, O.K.? (to T.L.)

Tom: Where are you going?

Janie: I have to go to the bathroom.

T.L.: O.K.

Janie goes in, Rosa and Sharee continue solo play.

This section illustrates a typical series of starts, stops, and miscues between two children attempting to maintain and elaborate their play together. Rosa announced sand pouring play, Janie joined her, but then Rosa, inexplicably, withdrew and warned Janie off. When Janie finally gave up and settled for playing in a parallel fashion, Rosa began again to announce her play, presumably to draw Janie into verbal interaction. This time Janie would have none of it and escaped to the bathroom. It is also noteworthy that Janie and Rosa were very nearly equal in their command of both English and Spanish and played together happily at other times. Sharee, an English speaker, neither approached nor was approached by the two Hispanics.

Woven into many of the difficulties surrounding initiation and maintenance of interactions are conflicts over control: control of objects, space, rules of games, and roles in dramatic play. Researchers have found that conflicts over objects and space dominate in the earlier years, but, around age four or five, social conflicts, especially regarding the terms of play, become equally important (Shantz & Hobart, 1989, p. 77). Children discover that there are no obvious ways to settle these differences; they have to learn to construct "procedures of discussion, debate, argument, negotiation and compromise" (Youniss,

1980, p. 32). The key to success in these conflicts is neither aggressive self-assertion nor acquiescence to the demands of others, but rather the ability to flexibly maintain one's own position while making necessary concessions to others. However, aggression and acquiescence often prevail.

#8, Date: March 27, Morning

Preschool group is outside in free play; the plastic play house has been set by the fence and is the focus of much coming and going; play centers on cooking sand with pots and pans in the playhouse.

Janie and Rosa are inside cooking as Ebony, a black, English-speaking child, comes in with a pot full of sand.

Ebony: I got some more cake here. (Shoves Janie to the side and stirs her pot on the table)

Rosa: No more! I don't want no more!

Ebony: I got more. (doesn't look up)

Rosa: No more! I don't want no more! No more!

Janie: (goes out with bucket and scoop to get more sand, then steps back in). O.K. here. (apparently to both Ebony and Rosa)

Rosa: No more! No, no!

Ebony: This [is] all.

Rosa: No more!

Ebony: We gonna make a ...

Rosa: No, no

Ebony: (reaches for Rosa's pot)

Rosa: No, that's mine. That's mine! No!

Ebony: (leaves with her pot and Rosa's pot)

Rosa and Janie are left inside with only the scoop and bucket, with which they continue to play cooking.

As Ebony barged right in to set up her cake-baking game, she left Janie and Rosa only two choices: play my way or don't play at all. Rosa chose the latter, by repeatedly trying to ward Ebony off and refusing to go along with her play suggestions. Janie made a single attempt to compromise but was ignored by both protagonists. Ebony and Rosa's intransigence prevailed, and everyone lost--Ebony left the playhouse but took most of the toys with her.

Summary: Classroom Organization, Language/Ethnicity,
and Social Interaction

The difficulties all preschoolers face--learning to adapt their existing social interaction skills to the novel demands of peer interaction--were made more complex at Fern Lake by the center's organization and by the languages spoken by children and adults. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the result of these problems was that cooperative play was relatively uncommon (compare Corsaro, 1985, p. 24; Parten, 1932, p. 260) and almost non-existent between the two language groups. Children rarely settled into lengthy social involvements over which they exercised

much control. To begin with, there were few opportunities at the center for completely free socialization and play--only one to two hours total, divided into 30 to 60 minute segments, out of an 8 to 10 hour day. When free play was possible, there were limited locations suitable for developing collaborative pretend play: the kitchen area in the classroom and the playhouse in the yard (the sand box, though often a site for social play with toys, was seldom used for verbal, pretend play). In addition, these areas were not always open to the children's use even when free play was allowed. More often than not, the kitchen, with all its housekeeping props, was off-limits during the morning pre-breakfast play period. The outdoor playhouse was also frequently closed to the children since it was often the site conflicts.

Language difference was an additional factor making social involvement difficult and dividing the children's play along ethnic lines. When Spanish speakers and English speakers played together, their play almost never required verbal collaboration. They ran and chased together, pushed each other on the tire swing, rode tricycles and pedal cars, piled blocks and sand, and quietly cooperated in pretend play using a minimum of verbalization. Children from the two groups never chatted informally about home, T.V., or the other topics that were discussed within groups, though there were occasional teases and verbal jokes between English

speakers. Most important is the fact that I observed a total of only 10 extended, verbal pretend play episodes between Hispanics and blacks, and these episodes involved only Ana, Rosa (four times each), Luisa and Janie (twice each). There was limited opportunity for uninterrupted pretend play because of the center's schedule and organization, and what occurred took place largely within the language groups. There was some evidence that the children's racial awareness and negative racial attitudes had a role in determining play patterns but language difference was clearly more important.

Because the Hispanic girls found organized group activities difficult to maintain, especially with children from the other language group, creation and maintenance of collaborative play was not the focus of most of their interaction with peers. What characterized the girls' social behavior was instead a pattern of caution, hesitation and withdrawal from involvement with others. Though the children could and did cooperate with one another, even across ethnic boundaries, their overriding concern was with controlling their social involvement--determining what and how they played, with whom they played, and whether they played at all.

CHAPTER IV CONTROLLING INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

The children constantly attempted to enter into involvement with adults or peers, but at a level of social participation that they themselves could choose. Levels ranged from brief, marginal attention to what a peer was doing to extensive, fully focused engagement in a mutually defined and regulated activity, such as dramatic role play. It was very difficult, however, to clearly demarcate analytical units such as Corsaro's interactive episode (1985, p. 24). Rather, interactions in this study were a constantly flowing, changing series of involvements of varying degrees of social participation that seldom coalesced into well-defined episodes.

The children in the Fern Lake center seldom engaged in extended episodes of cooperative play and frequently experienced interruption (from adults and unwelcome peers), marginal involvement, parallel activities and solitary play. Using Goffman's (1963, p. 91) terminology, the children were members of a "participation unit," some engaged with others, some unengaged. The degree of engagement or involvement of each child changed often because the flow of participation

was most often dictated by organized center routines (the end of free play time, the start of planned activity time or meal time, bus arrivals and departure, etc.) or by the intervention of an adult.

At times, children joined each other openly "in a single focus of attention," maintaining "preferential communication rights" and arriving at a "shared meaning" (Goffman, 1963, p. 89) but not often and not for long. There was not much time free of adult structure, and, when children were given free time, they did not always find peers sufficiently fluent in the same language or possessed of sufficient interactional skills with whom they could accomplish a high level of cooperative involvement. In fact, peer language seemed to be a key element in the study's findings. Collaborative play requiring complex language rarely involved children from both of the two language groups but occurred within the groups whenever the classroom situation allowed it.

The discussion that follows, then, does not focus exclusively on collaborative, dramatic play, nor does it treat other levels of involvement merely as steps towards dramatic play or substitutes for it. The children's interactional skills no doubt reflected their general developmental level, but the scarcity of dramatic play cannot be understood without taking into consideration language difference and classroom organization. It is

assumed that individual children in specific circumstances choose different levels of involvement for good reasons (see Olszewski, 1987, for similar conclusions reached from quite a different research approach).

Types of Social Interaction

Before examining specific strategies and tactics used to control involvement, I will first describe the kinds of extended interactions in which the children engaged. Again, I want to emphasize that these interactions were not discrete units but flowed from one level of involvement to another and from one type of encounter to another.

Encounters could be classified into four general categories: participation in teacher-directed activities and routines; conversations; physically active play and play with toys; and dramatic role play. The last, dramatic role play, has been defined in many terms but here most closely resembled the "social dramatic" play of Smilansky (1968). It included the following: imitative role play; make believe in regard to objects, actions and situations; interaction of two or more players; and verbal communication. All other types of child-directed play fell into the catch-all category of active play and play with toys. This included solo dramatic play (e.g., talking on a toy telephone), playing with manipulatives (Lego's, blocks, etc.), sliding and swinging on the playground, playing with

sand in the sand box, and running, chasing and play fights (rough-and-tumble play). Play-like behaviors and speech that derived directly from teacher-directed activities and routines were considered a separate category, as in King (1979). Conversations that did not involve pretend play and that focused on subjects other than classroom activities (e.g., family, T.V. programs) were also considered separately.

The Flow of Social Interaction

It was not always easy for a child to recognize whether others were talking about real or imaginary issues, e.g., building piles of sand or cooking a birthday cake. What added to the difficulty was the rapidity with which situations changed. A child might join another in purely physical play, shift into a pretend sequence, then drop the pretense and discuss something going on at home or ask a teacher if it were time to go in for lunch. However, children rarely stayed confused for long; they either made the shift or withdrew into a solo or parallel play situation. Here is an example of such a fast changing interactional flow:

#9, Date: January 14, after lunch; classroom group A
- two black English-speakers, Tonya and Theo, with
Maria and Luisa; recorded in sand box.

Maria: Voya comer ... comer comida. [I'm going to eat ... eat food.]

Luisa: Quien es la [sic] ... la papá? [Who's the daddy?]

Maria: Yo ... este ... no ... [I ... uh ... no ...]

Luisa: Quien es la mamá? [Who's the mom?]

Maria: Aqui no se necesita la mamá. [Here we don't need a mom.]

Luisa: El papá, donde 'stá? [The daddy, where is he?]

Maria: El papa ... no tienen papá aqui. [The daddy... they don't have a daddy here.]

Luisa: Yo no tengo papá. [I don't have a daddy.]
(long quiet period)

Maria: Voy a echar el pan. [I'm going to pour out the bread.] (pours sand from bucket)

Luisa: (pours her own sand; does not respond).

Theo (to T.L.): I can get a bucket full in twenty minutes. (fills bucket). Barato ... barato ...
(chants to self; mock Spanish?)

Luisa: Yo quiero comer la comida [I want to eat the food.]

Theo: Oooo! Look! Lookit! (points to the adjoining elementary school play ground)

Luisa: 'Onde 'stá la lechuga. [Where's the lettuce?]
Aqui está, verdad? Echale con esta ... la

lechuga. [Here it is, right? Pour it out with this ... the lettuce.] (pouring sand, presumably speaking to Maria who doesn't respond).

Theo: Look, look, my cousin! (in the other school yard)

Luisa: (gets up, goes to the side of the sand box where there is a badminton racket and picks it up). (To Maria) Mira, quieres jugar con la pelota, Maria? Con la pelotita? [Look, do you want to play with the ball, Maria? With the little ball?]

Maria: (no response; busy with sand)

Luisa (to Tom): Puedo traer agua pá hacer bolitas?

[Can I get water to make little balls?--i.e., dirt balls to hit with the racket?]

Tom: No ... hace mucho frio [No ... it's cold]

Theo: Hey! That my cousin, Keesha! Look like her!

Keesha! (shouts) That her, that my cousin.

Luisa: Puedo usar el bano? [Can I use the bathroom?]

Tom: Si. (Luisa goes in; Maria and Tonya continue to play solo in sand; Theo leans against the fence looking into the school yard).

Notice that, from the start, Theo was not involved with the other children but attempted to get my attention and perhaps lead me into a conversation about his cousin. He may have been attempting to tease Luisa and Maria with his mock Spanish ("Barato ... barato"), but, when they did not respond, he dropped it quickly. Tonya was never involved

with anyone. The two Hispanic girls, meanwhile, shifted several times, didn't arrive at any agreement, and eventually gave up. They began with a mutual attempt to start sociodramatic housekeeping play, but could not agree on the roles. The final break occurred when Luisa mentioned that she had no father. This was a sore subject with her, and she frequently sought adults and children with whom she could discuss her problem. Maria clearly wanted no part of a serious conversation, and she also ignored Luisa's later attempt to resume pretend play ("Yo quiero comer la comida") and to interest her in cooperative physical play with the badminton racquet. Finally, Luisa gave up and turned to me for her escape-- permission to use the bathroom. She did not return for some time, but managed to initiate a short, pretend house-play session with Maria before we all went in. Throughout this episode all the girls were striving to keep their involvement--with whom and how they played--under their control. They attempted to collaborate but abandoned the attempt when they risked loss of control.

Strategies for Controlling Involvement

The strategies the children used for controlling involvement can be divided into three categories: staying out, getting in, and keeping others out. These categories are not phases of a single process nor do they form a predictable sequence. Of course, children had to be in an

encounter before they could work on keeping others out. So when specific strategies functioned as phases in a sequence, that dimension of those strategies will be emphasized. However, social encounters varied so greatly, depending on contexts and participants, that it was impossible to propose a typical involvement sequence. It is more useful to simply describe each category independently, detailing the various strategies and tactics that characterized it. From these descriptions will emerge an interactional profile of each of the eight girls and a clear picture of the wide range of settings, activities, and social interaction occurring in the center.

Staying Out

All the children, at some time, simply wanted to be left alone. Two of them, Caridad and Raquela, seemed always to prefer solitude if they could not spend time with their younger siblings or cousins. Even the most outgoing girls, Janie, Rosa, and Ana, occasionally actively avoided social involvement and quickly warded it off when it was thrust upon them. The strategies that were used to stay out of involvement ranged from the most passive and non-verbal to the verbally assertive.

Keeping Your Distance

If setting and company allowed, a child, before any involvement could begin, might simply retreat to a place

where no one would bother her and maintain her distance from both adults and peers. Such complete avoidance of involvement was severely circumscribed by context. It was possible during outdoor free play to stay away from everyone, but the free movement of other children never left a child isolated for long. Also, teachers often noticed lone children and sought to draw them into some activity. A common tactic for maintaining isolation during outdoor free play was to go indoors to use the bathroom or get a drink of water--and then to simply stay indoors until discovered by a teacher or tattled upon by a child. However, seeking isolation during outdoor free play was rare, even for Caridad, after the first week. Because outdoor free play periods allowed such a wide range of involvement with so many children and adults (occasionally including even the toddler siblings and cousins), a level of participation with another, acceptable even to the most reluctant, was usually possible.

Ironically, it was during the more organized indoor activities and routines that keeping one's distance was more common. Especially during the first two weeks of the program and especially for Caridad and Raquela, remaining isolated during whole group and small group activities and meals was important. Choices were few in these situations: children were seated or placed next to adults or peers with whom they had developed no relationship; children were

addressed in English and expected to respond in English, and they were forced into unwanted social involvement with and close physical proximity to others. One way to attempt to control involvement in these settings was to stay as far away from the group as possible: in whole-group circles, to slip out of the circle and quietly step back away from the others; at the table, simply to avoid all physical or eye contact with one's neighbors, looking instead at materials or food. Though more characteristic of the two girls mentioned above and certainly more common early in the year, all 8 girls, even to the end of the year, would on occasion assume this stance. The physical closeness of the participants and the nature of the activities, which often involved teachers quizzing each child in turn or children passing things from one to another, usually ended the isolation rather quickly. However, some children, again Raquela and Caridad most often, managed to be ignored by their peers and passed over by teachers when they had isolated themselves. This response, no doubt, derived from a combination of the clear unspoken message, "Leave me alone," being communicated and of the fact that such children rarely responded when addressed anyway.

Ignoring and Looking Away

Because demands for response were made almost constantly by adults or children, isolating oneself was rarely possible for long. There were several strategies the

children used to ward off unwanted initiatives and restore their isolation. There were two tactics that involved withholding both verbal and nonverbal responses: a child could simply not acknowledge an initiative at all and look down or away, or she could stare blankly at the person making the unwanted approach. Staring was rarely seen after the first few weeks but carried a much more assertive demand of "Leave me alone!" than ignoring or looking away. As Goffman (1963) noted, staring can be considered "uncivil" attention that warns another to control his or her "improper public conduct" (p. 88). In this case, it communicated a high level of anxiety and was always associated with adult English questions at table activities and meals. As fear of these situations diminished after a few weeks, the blank stare response disappeared.

Ignoring and looking away remained a common response to the approach of adults and children across a wide variety of contexts. The discussion here will be restricted to these behaviors as tactics for remaining solitary and uninvolved; later, in the section on "Keeping Others Out," they will be discussed in the context of restricting access to ongoing interactions.

As with keeping away, ignoring and looking away were most common in the most restrictive contexts--adult planned large and small group activities and meals. To the end of the year, Raquela and Caridad responded to friendly adult

English (or Spanish) conversation (e.g., attempting to explain how to do an activity) and to hostile English-speaking children's initiatives (e.g., a tease) by silently looking down. In fact, if a teacher merely attempted to make eye-contact with Caridad or Raquela, they would often drop their eyes so as to avoid the possibility of having to answer. Only Spanish conversation from a peer was likely to be responded to by these two girls in closely monitored, adult-planned activities.⁵

The six other girls, especially early in the year, also resorted to ignoring and looking down on occasion. In fact Ana who later actively involved herself with adults and children Hispanics and non-Hispanics in English and Spanish was for the first few weeks nearly as prone to withdrawal as Caridad and Raquela. She responded readily only to her cousin, Maria. Estela, Maria, and the three bilingual girls, Luisa, Rosa, and Janie, did not show a regular pattern of avoidance in the organized routines. Rather,

⁵In fact, all of the Hispanic children frequently resorted to Spanish conversation during planned activities and meals. For Estela, this was difficult since she sat at a table with three English speakers; she, instead, would chat with the Hispanic teacher, who had charge of her group until mid-year. Rosa and Janie at times spoke English during such conversations, and, nevertheless, earned a response (in Spanish) from their Hispanic peers that the native English speakers could not. Chatting in Spanish, and occasionally English, amongst themselves, was clearly a release from the pressures of these highly structured, all-English routines. Other studies also have noted how children find opportunities to socialize among themselves in the midst of adult planned activities (Waksler, 1987).

they usually responded appropriately to adults when they could, using English when they knew it, or at least going through the motions until they got it right. Responses to English-speaking children in these situations remained rare throughout the year for all eight girls.

A field note selection from early in the year depicts a typical sequences at the tables during small group activities.

#10, Date: November 14, morning

The children are not yet in the small groups they will be in for the rest of the year.

The teacher has placed pieces of paper, with holes punched in them, and lengths of yarn in front of each child. She had previously demonstrated how the children were to string the yarn through the holes.

Ana, Maria, Janie and Tonya, a black, English-speaking child, are at this table.

Teacher (to Ana): Do you want blue? (i.e., a piece of the blue yarn the teacher has in her hand.)

Ana: Want blue. (Clearly a mimic of teacher's words).

Teacher (to Ana): Do you want blue?

Ana: (looks intently at yarn on the table in front of her, until teacher goes on to another child).

At another table, the children are doing cut-and-paste with scissors, old magazines and small cups of

paste. Caridad, Raquela, Ebony and Theo are at this table. It is supervised by the teacher who speaks a few words of Spanish.

Ebony: It (scissors) don't cut no good.

Teacher: You've got a left hand one. I'll look for a right for you.

(Caridad is following the teacher with her eyes, but looks down if looked at; Raquela simply looks down and cuts; neither speaks.)

Teacher (to Caridad): That's looking nice; that is pretty, bonita.

Caridad: (looks down)

Ebony: Can I bring this home?

Teacher: Yes, to show your momma. (To Raquela): Do you have a left-handed scissors, too?

(Raquela is having great difficulty cutting, but continues to look down and try to cut; she does not respond even when the teacher takes hold of her hand to guide her cutting).

Teacher: (picks up a marker and writes the children's names on their pictures)

Theo: My name got T-H-E-O.

(Caridad and Raquela look down at their papers silently, while the teacher writes their names)

Back at the other table: Maria, Ana, Janie, Tonya

Janie: (holds up her paper) Look, look! (to teacher)

Maria: (holds hers up too, says nothing)

Janie: Teacher, look Maria's, look Maria's! [look at Maria's]

Ana: (holds hers up silently)

Teacher: Maria, do you want some more? (touches the yarn on the table)

Maria: (touches the red yarn)

Teacher: Do you want that? What color is it? Can you say it?

Janie: Teacher, she says she wants this. (touches red yarn).

Teacher: Maria, what color is this?

Maria: (looks down)

Janie: (picks up some blue yarn.) Red, red, this, this red? This white? Miss Suzy (teacher's first name), this white?

Teacher: It's blue.

Janie: Blue.

Maria: (holds up her paper and looks at the teacher, gets no response)

Teacher (to Ana): Ana, you have red, blue, and white; do you want this? (holds up a piece of dark blue)

Ana: (Shakes head, looks down)

Janie: (holds her paper up)

Ana (to Janie): Mira, te falta otro. ["Look, you don't have the other one." i.e., another row of

punched holes.] (Janie looks, extends her paper toward the teacher to get more holes punched)

Ana responded to the teacher's first question by simply repeating the teacher's words. When that didn't work, she withdrew, looking down and refusing further response. At the neighboring table, Caridad and Raquela both carefully avoided all involvement with the teacher even when their work was praised or when they were in need of help. Only Janie made a verbal attempt to get the teacher's attention and even tried to help Maria. Janie offered such help on occasion to Ana and Maria, possibly believing that they were not likely to speak for themselves. On the other hand, Ana in contrast to her avoidance of English, did not hesitate to offer advice to Janie in Spanish. Ana's Spanish remark also demonstrated that she understood the project well and could discuss it with a Hispanic peer.

Active Avoidance

As keeping-to-oneself, ignoring, looking-down, and staring were characteristic of adult dominated settings and were used primarily to avoid involvement with adults, the more assertive tactics for avoiding interaction were used almost exclusively with other children in the settings allowing more movement and choice. These more active tactics included moving away from a child trying to initiate an involvement, protesting another's initiative to an adult, and simply telling another to go away. Again, these tactics

were more common as part of the strategies children developed to restrict access to ongoing peer interactions and will be discussed more fully later. However, there were occasional examples of children trying to stay uninvolved by resorting to one of these methods.

Moving Away

Caridad, at a pause in table activities one morning in mid-December, was sitting quietly by herself when Ebony came up behind her and began to play with her hair (which was very long and straight). Caridad stood up and walked away without a word. Ebony followed her, fondling her hair, folding it up into a bun, even attempting to braid it. Caridad circled about the room looking annoyed; Ebony trailed behind her grinning and obviously enjoying herself. Caridad did not speak to Ebony or complain to a teacher and only got some relief when another activity was announced and they both had to sit down.

Complaining to an Adult

Complaining to adults was used by all 8 girls at one time or another. Raquela and Estela often whined or cried until adults intervened. Others were more likely to complain verbally. Complaining to adults always carried the risk that one would not get the desired resolution, but it was resorted to regularly. In early December, late in the afternoon as the second bus-route group played outside, I

was watching Estela alone on the swing when she was approached by two black, English-speaking children, Ebony and Felicia. They both began to push Estela on the swing, in a friendly manner, not overtly teasing her or pushing her too fast or too high. Nevertheless, Estela turned to a teacher standing nearby, said loudly, "No, no!" and began to cry, clearly addressing it all to the teacher.

#11, Date: December 3, P.M. Free Play

Teacher (to Estela): Now don't be mean, Estela; let her push you.

Ebony: You ain't gonna be mean?

Estela: (shakes her head)

(Estela's sister, Juani, approaches the other swing.)

Ebony: This your sister?

Estela: (nods)

Ebony: You want me to push your sister, too?

Estela: (nods)

Ebony: (takes turns with Felicia pushing them both)

(Estela and Juani remain to be pushed, clearly enjoying it.)

Telling Another To Leave

It was difficult to distinguish between protesting to an adult and merely telling another child to back off. If a child raised her voice loudly enough above the general commotion, she always risked drawing adult attention, especially if she seemed in distress. However, I never

assumed intent to get adult help unless the complainer used such non-verbal cues as looking toward the teacher and whining or crying without having first attempted to speak to the child against whom she was complaining. A clear example of one of the girls telling off another child without any intent of complaining to an adult involved Ana.

#12, Date: December 10, Late Afternoon

Ana is alone in the sandbox playing with a shovel and bucket; three black English-speaking children, Theo, Tonya and Sharee join her in the sandbox.

Theo: (reaches over to grab Ana's shovel)

Ana: No! Me! [or Spanish Mi, mine]. Get out, Sharee.
(Sharee has gotten close to her)

Tonya: Get out, Sharee. (mocking Ana).

Ana (to Tonya): Move!

(Tonya moves, Ana is left to play alone)

To summarize, occasionally in free play situations and fairly frequently in adult controlled situations, children employed tactics to remain alone and uninvolved. Adult involvement was resisted with rather passive tactics: keeping away, ignoring, looking down, or staring. These tactics were also used to avoid the initiatives of other children, but more assertive, active tactics could be used with children than with adults.

Avoiding response to an adult was most common in highly structured settings where teachers were asking questions to

which there was clearly only one answer. In these situations, Caridad and Raquela refused to respond for the entire year, even when quizzed in Spanish. Ana refused to respond until mid-year; the other girls responded with fair ease in Spanish or English or both.

When freer movement and activity choice were allowed, a child might get up and move away from another child, protest to a teacher, or simply tell the other child to go away. Most of the cases that I observed of the girls' using one of these latter tactics involved the initiatives of a non-Hispanic children. Not every instance of a non-Hispanic approaching a lone Hispanic resulted in resistance; Ana, Janie, Luisa, and most frequently Rosa accepted invitations for socialization and play with non-Hispanics. However, most of these initiatives were refused, whereas approaches by other Hispanics were rarely refused.

Getting In

The children did not, of course, spend most of their time attempting to avoid involvement. Even when they did, they rarely succeeded for long in the constantly flowing interactional world of the center. The girls sought to enter social involvement with either adults or peers as long as it did not require language, activity, or a level of intimacy they could not control.

Getting Attention

All the children spent a great deal of time initiating short, non-intimate involvements with adults. I have labeled these simply attention-getters, in that they served to engage the attention of another for a brief, specific purpose. They included translations, tattles, and, most common, what I have called "hey's". Attention-getters did not serve as openings for extended involvements or verbalization but were ends in themselves. They seemed to be used to say, "Hey, look at me, look at what I'm doing and what I have, listen to what I've got to say, but don't take this to mean that I want to become any more deeply involved."

Attention-getters, especially "hey's", were often delivered to large non-specific audiences (e.g., a whole table, teacher and children, even the entire preschool group during an activity), singling no one out for a response. When they were clearly directed toward a particular adult, they called for a specific, limited response. Attention-getters almost never prompted an adult to begin a conversation or any other extended reaction. They were obviously understood for what they were and often ignored or responded to briefly and with closure. When a teacher misunderstood and took an attention-getter as a conversation opening, the child would quickly end it by looking down or going on to something else. They were used to create an

encounter of limited complexity, duration, and language--an encounter children could control.

"Hey's"

The most common adult attention-getter was what I call a "hey." The label was provided by José, a child who played a small role in the interactions I observed. José rarely engaged in conversations with adults or children, had great difficulty constructing complete sentences in Spanish or English, and never joined in cooperative, dramatic play with other children. When with his peers, he played alone or ran with other boys in rough-and-tumble play (Pellegrini, 1987). When in teacher-managed activities, he rarely tried to converse and paid little attention to instructions or what others were doing. However, he repeatedly shouted "Hey!" to whomever caught his attention. He was ignored often and rarely received much more response than a nod, smile, or "That's nice" from a teacher. If he were responded to with more attention, if a teacher pursued his attention-getting with interest, José replied with a non-sequitur or simply did not reply at all.

The 8 girls all used "hey's" in a similar fashion, though none of them used them nearly so often. "Hey's" actually took many other forms, but their function remained clear. Some were non-verbal: Caridad touching the arm of a teacher to show her a book she had made, or Ana and Maria both holding their drawings in front of a teacher, shaking

them and staring expectantly. Others were single words ("hey," "look," "teacher," or "mira" [look]) or simple sentences: Raquela in the sandbox, playing alone and uninvolved in the cooperative play of the others there, repeatedly looking up to me and demanding, "Mira!, Mira lo que hice!" [Look, look what I made]; or Janie leaving her group table, walking over to another and showing off her Christmas bell to the teacher, "Mira, look teacher."

The language of "heys" was variable, including English, Spanish, and mixes of the two. As Genishi (1981) found in a study of Mexican-American six-year-olds, most of the girls at Fern Lake had little trouble, after the first month, determining the dominant language of each adult. However, the children were all uncertain at times about which language to use with which adults, often beginning with Spanish and switching in mid-sentence to English as they perceived their mistake. Throughout the year, the Hispanic teacher and I were often addressed in Spanish. The other teachers were also occasionally spoken to in Spanish, but seldom and by few children after the first of the year.

Estela, Luisa, and Caridad rarely sought the attention of adults, although Rosa and Janie did so repeatedly (Rosa was also the most likely to make mistakes and language switches). Raquela never used a "hey" until after the first of the year and then nearly always used Spanish ("Mira") with everyone including teachers who had never shown any

indication they understood Spanish. Maria and Ana (starting in December) frequently attempted to catch the attention of teachers in table activities and at meals. Ana, by the spring, was the most adept, using quite long Spanish and English sentences, always to the appropriate audience. Once at the table, while drawing and coloring, she told me, "Tomás, este yo voy a tirar; no me gusta," (Tom, this I'm going to throw away; I don't like it), wadding a paper, tossing it into the trash, and looking to me for approval; then she turned to an English speaking teacher, also at the table, and said, "Here mine, Miss Susan, I finish", holding up another art paper.

"Hey's" were used in limited contexts. Almost all occurred at the small-group tables, at free times in the mornings, during organized activities, or at meals. These contexts brought small groups of children together to do things required or requested by adults and to compete for the adults' attention. Large group activities did not usually give children the opportunity to produce objects upon which to focus a teacher's attention, and there were too many children to allow teachers to pay much attention to individuals. The only other site of a substantial number of "hey's" was the sandbox. These occurred when I brought small groups out before nap to record their play (see discussion of this in Chapter II). Contrary to my intentions, this created for some children a context similar

to a small-group table activity. As attempts to begin and maintain peer interactions came and went, at least one of the four children was generally left out. Because there were no other children to turn to, and I required them to stay in or near the sandbox, there were few involvement choices: a child could look at what the others were doing, play alone or parallel to the others, or make things of sand and show them to me, "Mira lo que hice!" [Look what I made].

Tattles and translations

There were two uncommon attention-getters, similar to "hey's" in context and consequence, but different in form: tattles and translations. Only a few children ever used them and then only a few times. Rather than draw a teacher's attention to her own accomplishments, a child could instead point out the failings of another. This was not the same as calling a teacher to help deal with a child who was bothering someone. Rather, tattles pointed out things other children were doing wrong but that had nothing to do with the tattler; teachers almost always ignored tattles. For example, Ana once tried to point out to a teacher that Sharee was using the wrong bottle of glue for an art project with "See, Miss Susan, Sharee?" but the teacher made no response. Another time, when Janie tried to point out Ana's use of her fingers for eating breakfast, she was repeatedly ignored; Janie then began to eat with her

fingers and was told by the teacher to use her spoon.

Translations were similar to tattles. When one child was spoken to by a teacher in English and did not understand, or when a Spanish-speaking child mistakenly spoke Spanish to a teacher, another child occasionally offered to translate. It was clear that the translator did not always understand the exact nature of the language problem but was simply attempting to catch the positive attention of an adult. Children translated from Spanish to English and English to Spanish, from English to English (one child offering what she thought was a clarified version of what a teacher or another child said), and even from Spanish to Spanish. When waiting to board the bus home on Friday afternoon, Caridad's brother muttered something unclear to me; she promptly told me, "Dice que no va haber escuela mañana" [He says there's not going to be any school tomorrow]; I smiled and nodded, and she smiled in return then turned away. Caridad expected no further comments from me; she had translated for me, had received some positive attention from me and was finished.

Joining with Peers

Most encounters initiated by children with other children were lengthier and more likely to lead to social interaction than those initiated with adults. Though children at times sought simple attention from other children, as they did from adults, they more often attempted

to join their peers in play or conversation. There were two sets of entry strategies used by the Hispanic girls, and their use was highly dependent on context--both the setting and the type of encounter being entered. They might attempt to enter quietly and indirectly, often resorting to a strategic use of parallel play (Bakeman and Brownlee, 1980), or they might simply join in without using any obvious entry techniques. This latter, direct approach was used to gain access to ongoing dramatic play and peer conversations, types of encounters that occurred seldom and in only a few places (e.g., the indoor kitchen area and the tire swing).

In most other settings, the wide range of possible interactions and the high likelihood of interruption by a teacher or unwelcome child made the establishment of lengthy dramatic play or conversation difficult. Children could not take possession of the sand box, an activity table, or the block area even during free play. Children could freely enter these areas, and teachers would enforce their obligation to share materials and space. Also, these settings did not provide the proper surroundings (i.e., look like a house or kitchen) for dramatic housekeeping play. Similarly, no other setting provided the opportunity for uninterrupted peer conversation quite as much as the tire swing (it was known by the children to be restricted to three riders and one or two pushers on a first-come-first-serve basis). Other settings, thus, made

long, controlled interaction difficult and favored indirect, less committing forms of entry.

Quiet approaches and parallel play

The least committing way to attempt involvement with another was simply to approach quietly and observe what others were doing. This might involve an actual physical approach or, in such restricting contexts as teacher-directed table activities, merely turning and looking. The children spoke no words nor touched the person they were approaching. Occasionally, they might smile as they approached or look at their peers, but not always. These tactics were designed for initiating involvement without explicit communication of intent.

Related to the silent approach was parallel play. This type of behavior has been observed often among preschoolers, and occurred at Fern Lake in a form similar to that described by other researchers. Children played near one another, using the same toys and movements, even similar language, but did not join in collaborative activity. This behavior has often been seen as an indicator of a stage in play development--more advanced than solitary play but less advanced than social play (Parten, 1932, p. 258). However, more recent studies (Bakeman and Brownlee, 1980) have pointed out the frequency of parallel play among children at a wide range of developmental ages and its use as a strategy for entering into association with other children. At

Fern Lake, parallel play frequently led to attempts at collaborative play.

Both silent approaches and parallel play, however, allowed children to withdraw easily if their initiatives were refused or ignored, or if the play was disrupted. Children could approach others, look quietly or play near them; then, if told to go away or pointedly ignored, they could easily move away. As in an early study by Corsaro (1979, p. 330), the same children might approach again, even a third or fourth time, and eventually be allowed to join the others in play. However, such approaches, even when repeated, seldom led to extended play or conversation. The children occasionally moved from parallel play to brief interaction but generally drifted apart again and went their separate ways. The non-committing style of these kinds of approaches made separation easy. This was especially evident in mixed language groups where, in fact, lengthy conversations or fully formed dramatic play (i.e., including role assignment) almost never occurred.

#13, Date: February 21, P.M. in sand box with T.L., audio-tape. Table Group B -- Sharee, a black English-speaking child, Janie, Rosa, and Raquela (absent today)--is in the sand box between lunch and nap; they have toy trucks and cars and dishes available. Sharee and Rosa are playing with cars on opposite sides of sand box; Janie is inside.

Sharee: I cover my car up man! (announced to group;
looks at no one; buries the tractor she is playing
with in sand)

Rosa: O.K., man!

Sharee: It's dirty now!

Rosa: That dirty. (Rosa does not get up to go to where
Sharee is playing nor even look toward her;
lengthy quiet play; each girl alone with truck or
car)

Rosa: Better go! (Starts rolling her truck toward
Sharee)

Sharee: I'm making a road. (Rosa stops; both play
quietly again; Janie returns from inside and sits
watching Rosa and Sharee.)

Janie: I ... I'm makin' tortillas.

Sharee: Tortillas?

Janie: Yeah ... like ... like eat ... like stew.

Sharee: I ain't makin' no tortitos ... makin' a road.
(Lengthy silent play; Rosa and Sharee near each other
making roads with their cars; Janie alone in other
corner piling sand in cooking play)

Janie: (suddenly gets up) Oh my truck! (goes and gets
the truck she was playing with before she went in;
plays with it near Sharee and Rosa, then goes off
to make a road on the other side of the sand box)

Janie: Oh! (to whom and in reference to what unclear)

(Lengthy period of parallel play, quiet but for "car" noises from all three girls)

Sharee: This Sharee's van! (announced to all)

Rosa: I goin' in the woods.

Sharee: Here go a tractor. (holds up a toy tractor) Me and you got a tractor. (to Rosa)

Janie: Me too!

Rosa: Unh uh, you got a truck; put the dirt in there (i.e., in the truck). That the garbage can.

Sharee: That the garbage can man.

Rosa: Put dirt ... (starts to laugh)

Sharee: (laughs also)

Sharee and Rosa: Garbage can man, garbage can man.

(Chant and laugh at Janie whose garbage truck makes her a garbage can man; interlude of all playing separately with tractors and trucks again; no talk)

Rosa: Look where I'm going ... the road. (pushes dirt with tractor to make road) Janie, you think I'll be here ... I be here ... but we have to go to work. Look, Janie. Look, Janie. (no response from Janie; return to parallel play)

When Rosa and Sharee were alone in the sand box, they played in a similar fashion--pushing cars and trucks, making roads, and even repeating one another's phrases. However, they never coordinated their play or tried to create a

pretend situation or assign roles. When Janie returned, she tried to start a cooking episode but was ignored by Rosa and turned down by Sharee. Sharee's response was undoubtedly motivated, at least in part, by her lack of familiarity with tortillas. It is interesting that Janie translated tortilla as "stew." She certainly knew what a tortilla really is (a piece of round, flat bread used to fashion tacos) but probably just did not know what the English equivalent might be.

Having settled on car/truck play, all three girls then returned to parallel play. They each did quite similar things with their toys and occasionally spoke in a related sequence but never coordinated their play. Sharee and Rosa's brief verbal tease of Janie ("garbage can man") was the only collaboration achieved. Rosa made a final attempt to get a "going to work" pretend-play episode started with Janie but was ignored, and all three girls returned to their own play again.

The constraints posed by language and situation are clear here. First, the sand-box setting was not conducive to extensive collaborative play or conversation. Though there were usually some toy dishes, pots and pans present, the sand box was not equipped like either the outdoor playhouse or the indoor kitchen area (i.e., the sand box had no tables, stoves, sinks, etc). It never stimulated fully formed, dramatic, housekeeping play like these other two

areas. Sand box play much more often focused on digging and piling the sand and on play with cars and trucks. This sort of play lent itself to more solitary or parallel socialization as has been noted in other studies (Mandell, 1986, p. 65; Monigham-Nourot et al., p. 101). In fact, the behaviors illustrated in the above field note selection are quite similar to the pattern of "interpretive observation and display" that Mandell (1984, p. 197) found to be typical of sand box play. Janie, Sharee, and Rosa looked at what the others were doing, commented on what they saw, and announced to the others what they themselves were doing. Though brief collaborative interactions occurred, there was no real attempt to initiate cooperative, social play.

In a situation that was not conducive to cooperation, language and cultural differences made involvement even more difficult. The first attempt to depart from parallel, car and truck play occurred when Janie, having returned from going to the bathroom, announced that she was making tortillas. Unexpectedly, Rosa ignored her, and Sharee responded. Even though Janie carried the attempt a step further with her creative explanation of tortillas ("stew"), it was quickly dropped by both girls. In similar situations, Rosa had responded to Janie's invitations to housekeeping play with more extensive dramatic play--in the idiosyncratic mix of Spanish and English favored by these two girls. This time Rosa chose to ignore Janie (as Janie

ignored Rosa's invitation at the end of the selection), and Janie did not pursue the issue in the face of Sharee's emphatic refusal. Interestingly Sharee, herself highlighted the linguistic and cultural problem by pronouncing tortillas correctly the first time then pointedly mispronouncing it ("tortitos") the second. It was difficult to move beyond parallel play in the sand box, and, if there were not willing play mates who shared one's language and culture, it was practically impossible.

The direct approach

There were a few contexts that promoted more extensive social play and that encouraged lengthy conversations. These included the indoor kitchen center (when it was open) and the activity tables during some early morning free play sessions. In the play yard, the plastic playhouse and the tire swing were the primary sites for dramatic play and conversation, respectively. In these settings the children showed the greatest willingness to try to become more deeply involved with others. They chose roles for one another, created dramatic situations in which to play those roles, and strove to keep the play going through the inevitable interruptions by adult and other children. Similarly, they engaged in lengthy conversations about school and family life at home and work. Teases, jokes, and verbal play often punctuated conversations. In fact, conversation and pretend play episodes intermingled, moving back and forth from one

to the other. These deeper involvements formed, dissolved, and reformed in the continuous interactional flow characteristic of the center's social world. Also characteristic of Fern Lake, extended pretend play and conversation rarely involved mixed-ethnic groups. Rather, the approach of an English-speaking child to a group of Hispanic girls fully engaged in conversation or pretend play often caused an interruption in or even termination of the episode.

To initiate a conversation or pretend play episode or to join an on-going one, the children most often used the same cautious strategies of silent approach and parallel play described above. In those situations more conducive to deep involvement (e.g. the kitchen area or the tire swing) and with linguistically homogeneous groups, more direct entries became common. Unlike quiet approaches, direct "access strategies" were explicitly designed to promote the children's acknowledgement of one another's presence and their arrival at a shared meaning for their joint activities (Corsaro, 1979, p. 319). The desire for involvement was clear, and quick withdrawal into parallel or solitary activity less likely.

The most common strategy, in fact, seemed like no strategy at all. Hispanic girls entering conversations or play episodes dominated by other Hispanic girls generally simply entered and joined in. Similarly, new episodes began

when a group of girls joined in play or conversation--there were rarely any obvious negotiations or ritual openings. Children simply joined one another, appearing to resume where they had just left off. As Schwartzman (1978) noted, children who are familiar with one another and frequently play together do "not need to make an explicit connection statement" (p. 242).

The Hispanic girls almost never used aggressive or disruptive entry strategies (there were occasional disagreements within play episodes, but they rarely caused disruption). Ana and Luisa were the most assertive in play and often initiated play episodes and set the theme, but their leadership was generally accepted and caused few problems. The other girls, if they did not simply drift in quietly, might offer to bring additional materials into the play or might simply accept the invitation of another. Non-Hispanics approaching Hispanic play groups and using similar strategies were usually denied access or were ignored and withdrew on their own.

#14, Date: February 27, A.M. Free play

Ana, Luisa, Estela, Raquela are in the sand box playing with plastic dishes; Alberto and Caridad are standing talking near the plastic playhouse.

Ana - Caridad! (Ana leaves to bring her to the sand box but instead stays with her in the playhouse;
Alberto looks in from the outside briefly then

goes off; Ana remains in the playhouse for some time as Caridad, Luisa, Estela and Raquela come and go bringing dishes and sand for cooking play; Ana does most of the talking and is referred to as "Mami" by the others; she refers to the others as "Miya", [Mi hija]--my daughter", a common, affectionate appellation for children used by children and adults, family and non-family members; Caridad and Estela remain on the periphery of the action and never talk; Ana is putting sand in a plastic car.)

Ana: Estamos haciendo los tacos. ("We're making tacos") (to T.L. who has walked over and is sitting near the house) A ver ... (looks around) Quedate, pá limpiar la casa. (to Luisa) ("Let's see ... you stay here to clean the house") Que pasó, miya? [What happened, miya?] (to Luisa who dropped a bucket of sand)

Luisa: Se cayó este. ("This dropped.") (Luisa and Ana stoop to re-load buckets and sand into car)

Lonnie: (comes to window of playhouse and looks in)
What you got?

Ana: Son frijoles. ("They're beans")

Lonnie: Oh. (she passes Lonnie dish of sand) Thank you. (he goes)

Ana: Turn [it] over, miya. (to Luisa) Thank you,
miya. (They re-arrange the sand buckets in the
car)

Luisa: You ... we ... I come ... Me lo compra, mami?
("Will you buy it for me, mommy?")

Ana: Si. Yo voy a comprar algo ... Mira, lo que te
compré. Le pagé y me ayudó. ("Yes. I'm going to
buy something Look, what I bought for you.
I paid him and he helped me.") (shows Luisa some
sand as something she bought from someone who then
helped her load it into the car)

Luisa: Gracias, Mami.

Ana: Cuida la casa que yo vaya comprar [?]. P'que
tengo mucho dinero. Me dio mucho dinero. Me dio
mucho dinero, mi patron. ["Take care of the house
so that I can go buy [?].] Because I have a lot
of money. He gave me a lot of money, my boss"]

Lonnie: (returns and looks through the window)

Ana: No nos molestes! Nosotros ... Estamos trabajando.
["Don't bother us! We ... we're working."]

Lonnie: Gimmie a hamburger.

Ana: I ain't got hamburger.

Lonnie: Got popsicle?

Ana: I give it. (passes sand through the window;

Lonnie goes off.)

Raquela: (comes to the house with another plastic car)

Tengo carro. ["I have a car"]

Ana: Vamos pá mexico, hija. (to Raquela) Vámanos! (to all) Ponlos aquí. (to Estela who has come up with more buckets of sand) [We're going to Mexico. Let's go! Put them here." i.e., buckets in the back of the car]

Luisa: Donde va llevar este? ["Where are you going to carry this?" -- a box of sand;] (Ana shows her where to put it)

Tom (to Ana) Porque se van? ("Why are you leaving?")

Ana: Porque esta casita está bien sucia. El dueño va limpiarla. Queremos llevar todos de esta casa. (to Tom) Asina, no, hija (to Luisa) ["Because this house is very dirty. The owner [landlord] is going to clean it. We want to carry everything away from this house." "Not that way, hija"-- rearranges box placed in car by Luisa] (Sharee is pushed over to the play house in a plastic car by Felicia; they approach a large toy gas pump; José walks up and watches the Hispanic girls pack their cars; he stands near the gas pump)

Sharee: Hey, ya'll. (no one from the group of Hispanic girls responds)

José (picks up hose and pretends to pump gas into Sharee's car; he says nothing.)

Sharee: Two dollars. (puts pretend money in José's hand, who still does not speak; Sharee and Felicia move off)

Ana: Ah right! Ah right! (to all) (group of Hispanic girls moves off in a convoy of plastic cars)

None of the girls questioned Ana's role as the "Mami" or their own as "mijas." They merely joined quietly, bringing props with them, and everyone accepted the story-line as set by Ana. That plot changed a few times--making tacos, going to the store, leaving a house to go back to Mexico and/or to allow the landlord to clean it--but no one had much trouble following the changes. In fact, it is probably more accurate to see the changes not as shifts in a plot, but as variations on a single theme (Garvey, 1974, p. 179)--preparing to travel. This is a theme obviously quite familiar to the children of migrant workers. One's family may be returning to Mexico at the end of the season or simply leaving one rented house for another, because the first is too dirty or run-down to be habitable. Preparation for travel entails making tacos to eat along the way, going to the store to buy supplies (and perhaps a treat for an hija), and carefully packing everything into over-crowded cars.

The tactics the Hispanic girls used to enter or extend the play were not different from those used by Lonnie, Felicia, Sharee, and José. However, the responses were very

different. Luisa explored her role as helper and "hija" and actually turned the theme of play toward going to the store and buying treats for the child. Raquela brought in a new prop with a brief announcement ("Tengo carro") and was quickly accepted as another "hija." On the other hand, when Lonnie approached and suggested a theme change (i.e., from preparing to travel to "What you got?"--what have you cooked for me), he was both times answered in Spanish, which Ana knew he did not speak, and encouraged to move on. Sharee and Felicia, who, like Raquela, brought a car and could have been incorporated into the play, were simply ignored. The only response they drew was from José, who made no attempt to join the girls' play (José made few attempts to join dramatic housekeeping play and was almost never accepted).

Similar patterns of approach and acceptance (or rejection) occurred when the children engaged in lengthy conversations among themselves.

#15, Date: December 3, P.M. free play

Tire swing is empty, but Caridad, Isac (her toddler cousin) and Luisa are standing near; Ruby, a black toddler walks over and climbs on to the tire swing; Maria comes over to the swing

Maria: (to Luisa) Te quieres subir? ["Do you want to get up [on the tire swing]?"]

Luisa: (nods)

Maria: (Helps her up; Caridad and Isac then climb up
too and Maria pushes them)

Wanda: (comes up to swing, looks at children swinging)

Maria: (to Wanda) No!

Wanda: (remains, looking)

Estela: (to Maria) Me puchas? ["Will you push me?"]

Maria: Si. (helps her up into swing)

Ruby: (climbs down and goes off) (Caridad and Isac
climb down)

Luisa: (to Maria and Estela) Se le comieron la araña;
las ratillas. ["They ate the spider, the rats"--
refers to cartoon film of "Charlotte's Web" they
saw on television the night before]

Estela: Estaba en la television. ["It was on
television"]

Maria: No tienen camas; se acuestran afuera. ["They
don't have beds; they lie down outside."--i.e.,
the animals in the movie] (Maria goes off)

Luisa: Te pucho? ["Should I push you?"]

Estela: Si.

Luisa: (does not get down to push, but looks around for
someone else) Lonnie nos pucha. ["Lonnie will push
us"]

(Janie and her sister Veronica come to tire swing and
Janie starts to push)

Luisa: (to Janie) Stop it! No le puches! ["Don't push it"]

Janie: (climbs up; Veronica pushes) (Luisa, Janie and Estela chat about clothes they have at home; Veronica continues to push)

This was a typical tire-swing sequence. The tire swing was often occupied by children from both ethnic groups, especially if a teacher was there to put children up and take them down. However, if there were no adults around, and if the activity shifted from swinging to conversation, the group on the swing almost always became homogeneous. In this example, Wanda, the only English speaker who attempted to approach, was quickly discouraged and made no second attempt. When Janie made a similar approach, Luisa warned her off too (switching briefly to English, clearly aware that Janie understood it) but was ignored. Janie joined the group and entered the conversation. Luisa was interested in persuading Lonnie to come and push them (since he pushed fast) but was willing to accept a continuation of the conversation. If Lonnie had come, it would have been solely for the purposes of pushing the swing; he would not have been expected to join the conversation.

The unselfconscious ease with which Hispanic girls came and went, joined and withdrew from the conversation is very much like the social involvement patterns seen in the dramatic play sequence. Also similar was the systematic

exclusion of non-Hispanics (and boys) from these intimate interactions. The range of tactics used to control access to play and conversation are described in the next section.

Keeping Others Out

Researchers have often noted that children seek to control the access of others to the social situations they have created among themselves (Corsaro, 1985, p. 273; Garvey, 1974, p. 179; Schwartzman, 1978, p. 243). The Hispanic girls at Fern Lake shared this concern for exercising control over participation in social play and conversations and used excluding tactics similar to those described elsewhere (see especially Corsaro, 1979; 1981; 1985). However, exclusion and control at Fern Lake showed patterns characteristic of the special problems encountered by the children at the center. Since there were few opportunities available for uninterrupted dramatic play and peer conversation, children had difficulty exercising control over group membership in most settings. Nevertheless, even in adult-directed activities, children maintained some control over the adults or peers with whom they interacted. Also, in every setting from socio-dramatic play to table activities, the inclusion and exclusion of peers was, to a large degree, based on language.

The likelihood that the Spanish-speaking girls would allow English speakers into their play and social

interaction was also related to the type of activity in which they were engaged. Pretend play and peer conversation, involvements over which the children exercised a great deal of control and for which language was necessary, generally involved linguistically homogeneous groups. When activities did not require language (e.g., rough-and-tumble play and play with toys) or when they were directed by adults, the language of the participants was less important.

Nonconfrontational Exclusion

Children tried to control participation in play and other interactions without resorting to a direct confrontation and risking an argument or the intervention of teachers. Often intruders could simply be ignored until they gave up and ceased their attempts to become involved. If ignoring did not work, and if movement was possible (i.e., if it was a free play period), a group could move away and take their materials and toys with them. Finally, the group could try to permit the intruder or intruders a marginal involvement in the interaction in hopes that they would be willing to allow the original group to retain control of the interaction. Adding to the force of all these exclusionary tactics was the existence of language differences. In most cases, the Hispanic girls talked and played largely in Spanish, and most unwelcome bids for involvement came from English speakers. The girls generally

continued to speak Spanish when confronted by English speakers, which was normally all that was necessary to discourage intruders. In the more teacher-controlled settings, however, exclusion did not follow language lines so closely. Because control of interactions in these settings was not entirely in the hands of the children (e.g. teachers decided what you did and who you did it with) and because the most intimate involvements, pretend play and open conversation, were impossible, children seemed less concerned about loss of control and were more apt to cross ethnic lines.

#16, Date: December 5, A.M., pre-breakfast table play
Children are standing around a small table coloring
copies of a teacher-drawn Christmas tree; Ana is
standing near Lonnie, then gets up and goes off;
José takes her place, then she returns with a tree
outline; children come and go getting tree
outlines.

Ana: (to José) Allá! Yo estaba. ["Over there! I was
[here]"] (José moves and Ana takes his place.
Maria comes over and sits near where Ana is
standing, but Ana goes off again)

Maria: Ana! Ana!

José: Ana! Ana! Allá está (points) ["She's over
there"]

Maria: (Goes off to join her)

Ana: (returns) Mira! Look Lonnie (Shows him the tree outline she has; he looks, does not speak)

José: (looks over at Lonnie's outline) Es tuya? ["Is it yours?"]

Lonnie: (Looks at José, does not speak)

Maria: (returns, looks at Ana's picture) Está bonita ["It's pretty"]

Tonya: (comes to table, looks at Ana's picture) I can make me one. (to Ana and Maria who ignore her)

Ana: Lonnie ... (he looks, does not speak)

Teacher: Does everybody want another Christmas tree?

All: Yeah, yeah!

Ana: Cual quieres? (to Maria) ["Which one do you want" - i.e., crayon]

Maria: Dame este ["Give me this one"] No los tires! (to Rosa who has come to the table) ["Don't throw them" - i.e., the crayons]

José: Mira, tengo mocos. (to teacher) ["Look, I have snot" -- points to his nose]

Teacher: (gets tissue to wipe his nose)

Rosa: I don't want to color. Tengo arbolito en la casa (to all) ["I have a tree at home" - i.e., a Christmas tree]

Tonya: (looks up at Rosa as she speaks and as José and Rosa fight over possession of a tree picture)

Ana: (to Tonya) Es de ella. ["It's her's"--i.e., the picture in question belongs to Rosa]

Tonya: (looks, does not speak)

Rosa: (begins to fold tree pictures and put them in her pockets) I put papers. I gonna take home.

Tonya: You gonna take home?

Rosa: Yeah. Mira, como está tuya! (to José, laughs at his picture) ["Look, how yours is!"]

Ana: (looks and laughs)

José: (leaves)

This was a typical early morning sequence when the activity choices available to the children were few. Because coloring Christmas tree outlines was a popular choice, the children surrounding the coloring table were more interested in the activity than with whom they socialized. Ana and Maria, cousins and closest of friends, managed to keep together, and Ana probably moved José to keep space available for Maria. When José attempted to involve himself with the two girls by assisting Maria in her search for Ana, he was still ignored. José's involvement was never welcome in a group of girls. On the other hand, Lonnie was often welcome in these kinds of situations--he was considered attractive and interesting by all the preschoolers, blacks and Hispanics. He was expected to look approvingly at one's work, but not to join in conversation or play. Note that Ana had no trouble switching to English

for Lonnie, whereas José failed to make the appropriate switch for Lonnie or later for the teacher. Tonya, unlike Lonnie, elicited no interest from Ana or Maria. When she first approached and attempted to interact, in English, she was ignored and did not persist. Later, when she looked with interest at José and Rosa's fight, she was warned away in Spanish from Rosa's paper. Finally, she was pointedly excluded from the joke of José's picture, as Rosa switched her comment to Spanish. Rosa, on the other hand, though at first acting disruptively, found it easy to join Ana and Maria. The key difference, of course, between Lonnie's and Tonya's status in this sequence was that Lonnie's role was being set by Ana--"Look with approval at what I've done"--whereas Tonya was attempting to enter on her own.

At another early morning free play session, when Ana and some others managed to initiate a game of their own, the issues of control and language difference were more prominent.

#17, Date: March 7, early morning free play

Ana has gotten a card game from the teacher and is sitting with Caridad and Alberto in the library corner; she has made up rules and is instructing Caridad and Alberto. Tonya approaches, looks at the card game and turns to Tom.

Tonya: I want to play.

Tom: It's Ana's game.

Tonya: Ana, can I play?

Ana: (doesn't look up) No, wait.

Alberto: No quiero jugar con los mollitos. (all laugh)

("I don't want to play with black kids")

Tom: Porque no quieren jugar con los mollos? ("Why don't you want to play with the blacks?")

Ana: Porque me dan asco. (all laugh again) ["Because they make me sick"] (Ana resumes dealing the cards; Tonya has gone off) Pa ti ... pa ti ... tu tienes dos. (to Caridad) ["For you ... for you ... you have two"]

Lonnie: (comes to library; speaks to Ana) I want to play.

Ana: (ignores him, continues to deal and instruct Caridad and Alberto in Spanish)

Lonnie: I want to, Ana.

Ana: I give it to you; all in a circle. (they all move and make room for Lonnie who takes the cards from Ana and begins to deal)

Janie: (comes to library) I want to play (continues to stand and is ignored)

Sam: (comes to library) I want some cards. (sits near circle)

Lonnie: Could he play, Ana?

Ana: (to Sam) You want sit down right here? He don't want to play. (to Lonnie) (Sam does not join

circle but leans over and grabs cards, putting them under his legs where no one can get them)

Caridad: No quiero jugar. (She and Alberto leave) ["I don't want to play"]

Luisa: (comes to library, sits next to Ana)

Ana: (to Sam) You no got! (tries to pull cards out from under him, but he won't move)

Theo: (comes into library) Ana can I play? Can I play, Lonnie?

Ana: I don't want to play. (she gets up from circle and goes with Luisa and Janie to read books; Lonnie gets up and goes to Sam; Lonnie and Theo scramble to get cards away from Sam).

This was Ana's game, and she tried to control it as long as she could. Alberto and Caridad were content to let Ana run the game, made no attempts to contest her rules, and played with interest. Tonya's approach was dealt with in a typical fashion, ignored with an empty gesture of appeasement ("No, wait"). She got the message and moved on.

Her approach brought on a brief racist exchange among the three Hispanics. Ana knew that her explanation to me (i.e., black children made her sick) would provoke laughter --racist humor not very different from that familiar to most adults. Caridad repeated the same line to me when I interviewed her and Ana later the same day (see discussion in Chapter III).

However, when the ever popular Lonnie approached, he was accepted. Unlike Tonya, he persisted, after being ignored the first time. As long as Ana could continue to control the game, he was welcome. Lonnie, of course, had other ideas; he took the cards and assumed control. Still, Ana, Caridad, and Alberto remained until the game was overtaken by children Ana could not control. Sam was the main problem; Ana attempted to incorporate him into her game as she had done Lonnie, but he would not cooperate. He would not accept her rules but started his own game of grab-and-hide-the-cards. This was enough for Caridad and Alberto who went off to play by themselves. Ana persisted until Theo arrived, then abandoned the cards to start a different episode with the two Hispanic girls who had come to the circle as the card game was disintegrating. Sam's rules prevailed as he, Lonnie, and Theo wrestled for possession of the cards. It is interesting that Theo was aware that control was passing from Ana--he did not know if he should ask permission of Ana or Lonnie.

Ana's card game was more of a children's creation than the art activity of the previous field note selection. She hoped to retain control of it by using all the non-confrontational tactics at her disposal: ignore, divert with a promise, even allow others into the game. When control was no longer possible, she left the game and moved on to start another. She would not stay to play someone else's game,

especially one dominated by English speaking boys. Since the card game was played with the permission of a teacher, Ana and her original partners would not have been able to claim the cards. If they had protested loudly, they probably would have been told to share. Knowing she could no longer control the cards, Ana abandoned them.

Confrontational Exclusion

Direct, verbal protest to unwelcome children or complaints to adults were reserved usually for disputes in pretend play and conversations--interactions that the children considered their own, which were, by their nature, to be controlled by the participants. Again, exclusion generally followed ethnic lines, though there were exceptions.

#18, Date: December 10, A.M. outdoor free play

Rosa and Lonnie are riding tricycles around the middle of the play yard with Maria following in a plastic pedal-car.

Rosa: Come on, let's go, man. (to Lonnie) I tell you, get out of here, man!

Lonnie: Man, get out of here.

Rosa: Get out of here, man.

Lonnie: I getting my knife; I kill you.

Rosa: I get my knife out; I kill you.

Lonnie: I got a big knife here.

Lupe: (Maria has followed them, silently staring; they
do not address her nor she them)

Lonnie: Boy, go your house; it over there.

Rosa: My house over here, too.

Lonnie: Here some cookies; give me 'em to eat. We
going out riding again on our motorcycles.

Rosa: Let's go. (they move off on their trikes, Maria
following)

Rosa: (to Maria) Move! I stab my knife.

Lonnie: (to Maria) I get my knife; my knife, girl.

Maria: No!

Lonnie: I got this! My knife, girl! (waves his comb in
Maria's face)

Maria: (stares, quiet) (Rosa and Lonnie move off again;
Maria stays).

Rosa and Lonnie, the one cross-ethnic pair that frequently played together, had developed a pretend play sequence on the theme of threatening violence and moving about in cars and motorcycles. This game may have been derived from the media or from the children's own experience with domestic violence. Whatever the origin of the theme, the children did not want to share their creation with Maria. Because this was not play with the usual domestic themes (e.g., housekeeping, cooking, preparing to travel), it had a theme with roles suitable for male players (violence and motor vehicles--a sad commentary on male

roles). Also, since Lonnie spoke no Spanish and Maria's English was inadequate, she could not be brought into the play without making a language change that would exclude Lonnie. Thus, Rosa used an exclusionary tactic common in the protection of pretend play--verbal threats. In this case, the details of the threat (stabbing Maria) were pretend, but the intent and result were real.

More typically, the Hispanic girls played together, allowed non-Hispanics to play only if they accepted roles of limited scope, and vigorously excluded others.

#19, Date: January 14, A.M. free play inside; kitchen area is open, since weather precludes going outside. Janie is washing dishes in the sink; Maria is cooking at the stove; Wanda is sitting at the table looking at Maria; Theo is standing near Janie at the sink; Tom is sitting at the table near Wanda.

Theo: (steps to sink and begins to go through the dishes Janie has put there)

Janie: I want all my dishes! No! (screams) This my dishes!

Theo: (continues to try to get dishes away from Janie)
Mine, Mine, Mine

Janie: (leans over the sink and spreads her arms preventing Theo's approach; Whatever he gets she grabs back and puts it back in the sink)

Theo: (goes off)

Maria: (continues to stir at the stove, sets bowls, plates and cups in front of Wanda and serves pretend food on to the plates; then she sits at the table apart from Wanda and feeds a baby doll she is holding)

Wanda: (puts some of the dishes Maria placed near her into the purse she is carrying) (to Maria) I got some plates in my purse.

Maria: (ignores her and continues to feed baby doll; Wanda goes off)

Theo: (has returned and tries to get dishes) (to Janie) Let me wash this one, Janie!

Janie: I done washed it. (they push and shove at one another grabbing at dishes; some spill over the sink on to the floor in the toddler area; Theo climbs over the sink to get them, and a teacher puts him in time out)

Maria: (continues to feed baby at table)

Janie: (continues to wash dishes)

Maria: (gets up) (to Janie) Cuidame la nina. Yo los lava. (gives her the doll) ["Watch the baby for me; I'll wash them" (i.e., dishes)]

Janie: Yo los lavo, tambien. (sets the doll down) ["I'll wash them, too"]

Maria: (picks doll back up)

Janie: (back at sink)

Wanda: (returns; goes to sink)

Janie: (slaps Wanda's hand as she reaches for a dish)

Wanda: You got the Kitchen Aide? You got the Kitchen Aide? (a brand name product?)

Janie: (ignores Wanda's question, covers sink with arms again)

Wanda: (leaves again; returns, goes to stove)

Janie: (now at stove) (to Wanda) Move! You gonna get burned! (continues for several more minutes, Janie and Maria, feeding each other and baby dolls, and washing dishes; Theo and Wanda attempting to join but being excluded)

Though Maria and Janie did not fully coordinate their play, they had no disagreements. They independently cooked, washed, and fed babies. The one time they encountered a potential conflict (who would wash dishes, who would watch the baby), it was amicably resolved as Janie returned to the dishes, Maria to the baby. Neither Wanda nor Theo were so easily accommodated. Wanda was permitted to play as long as she sat quietly and allowed herself to be fed. When she tried to join Janie and Rosa as an active participant, she was slapped and then ignored; in a later attempt she was warned off with a pretend danger and never managed to join Janie or Rosa. Theo, from the start, made it clear he wanted to actively participate and, from the start, was

vigorously resisted. Janie's tactics were simple and direct --tell him no and physically prevent him from sharing the materials--though her volume suggested she was trying to get a teacher to assist her. Later, in fact, a teacher intervened and told Theo to leave Janie alone, since she had been playing at the sink first. Though a child could not always depend on adults to support his or her control of a play interaction, teachers sometimes intervened, especially during free play sessions. To Janie, however, the issues were clear: she and Maria were playing cooperatively with the kitchen materials; she was being permitted by Maria to establish their roles; and she was responsible for maintaining hers and Maria's control of the play and the materials when threatened by others. Janie did not hesitate to directly and loudly confront intruders if that was what was needed to protect her control.

Summary

The strategies the children used to control their involvements with others were presented in a pattern that moved from the most passive (i.e., staying away from everyone) to the most assertive (i.e., actively controlling membership in play groups). However, there are other patterns in the data, patterns that more clearly reveal the connection between the children's desire for control and the problems they encountered at Fern Lake--classroom

organization, language difference, and development of new interactional skills (Chapter III).

A key pattern was the degree to which the Hispanic girls limited their interaction with non-Hispanics. Though there were contextual variations and individual differences, the general pattern was clear: avoid the approach of English speakers, do not attempt to enter into play with them, and keep them out of Hispanic play. However, variations in the data are of interest. To begin with, individual children showed a wide range in their willingness to interact with English speakers. As noted, Caridad had no desire to play with and consistently expressed antipathy toward black children. On the other hand, Rosa professed fondness for all the children, black and Hispanic, and was more willing to play with English speakers (especially Lonnie) than the other girls. However, all the others, except Raquela, who remained nearly as withdrawn as Caridad, were willing, in certain contexts, to interact with non-Hispanics.

The contextual pattern of the Hispanics' involvement with English speakers is also interesting. In those contexts in which the children exercised less control over their interactions, they allowed themselves more involvement with non-Hispanics. A good example was Ana's attempt to attract the attention of Lonnie (field note selection #16) during a table activity. All but Raquela and Caridad made similar overtures to English speakers in similar

teacher-planned contexts. Most of the girls also responded on occasion to English initiatives in these contexts. Because the settings made the development of extensive, intimate involvement (e.g., dramatic play or peer conversation) unlikely, most of these cross-language interactions were short attention-getters.

There was also some involvement between English and Spanish speakers during free play periods. As noted, Rosa was unique in the amount she played with non-Hispanics; no one else ever tried to form a dramatic play episode with a non-Hispanic to the exclusion of a Hispanic as Rosa did in selection #18. However, most of the other girls (as usual, Caridad excluded) at least attempted non-dramatic play with toys and sand or engaged in active rough-and-tumble play with non-Hispanics. Raquela made such an attempt in selection #6 (only to be excluded by an all-English dyad), and Rosa and Janie had no trouble including Sharee in selection #13. The tire swing and the sand box, when there was a teacher present to insure that everyone shared and took turns, saw much inter-ethnic play.

Ethnic separation became most dramatic when children were involved in the most verbal and intimate of interactions--conversations and especially dramatic play. The tire swing, the most popular site for conversation, quickly became ethnically homogeneous when the Hispanic girls were in the majority and in charge (i.e., there was no

teacher nearby to see that children took turns) and was kept that way to allow conversation (see selection #15). Dramatic play episodes were striking for the ease with which the Hispanic girls entered and maintained amicable play and for the vigor with which they resisted the intrusion of non-Hispanics. As noted, the girls themselves did not use formal entry strategies nor did they experience much discord during play. English speakers, however, were ignored, slapped, pushed, or yelled at in Spanish and English when they tried to join (or interrupt) the Hispanic girls' dramatic play. When non-Hispanics did join Hispanics, as in selections #8 or #17, discord increased until the play broke up and reformed along ethnically homogeneous lines. There was not one episode of inter-ethnic dramatic play that displayed the amiable cooperation characteristic of all-Hispanic play.

Given the special function that socio-dramatic play seems to serve in the social lives of preschoolers, these patterns are not surprising. It is in child-controlled dramatic play⁶ that preschool-age children can most fully experience the reciprocal, cooperative social interactions that will become characteristic of childhood peer

⁶And in peer conversations, an interactional form of which I have insufficient data to fully discuss. Its importance to the social world of children has been recognized (Labov, 1972), but it remains understudied among preschoolers. Clearly young children do not play all the time; sometimes they just talk.

relationships (Youniss, 1980, p. 29; Youniss & Volpe, 1978, p. 10-11). If not an entirely new experience--assuming similar relations exist among siblings (Dunn, 1988, p. 125)--collaborative social interactions are certainly more likely at school than at home. However, as has been pointed out throughout this analysis, the Fern Lake center provided few opportunities for the children to establish and maintain socio-dramatic play episodes. It is to be expected that those which could be established were jealously protected. That such play occurred mainly within and not between the two ethnic groups was due both to the children themselves and to the nature of dramatic play. To begin with, the children, both black and Hispanic, were more likely to be acquainted with children from within their own ethnic group. Some Hispanic girls were related (Maria and Ana were cousins, as were Estela and Raquela); they lived together in Hispanic migrant communities and attended Hispanic social events (e.g., Spanish-language church services). Also, by this age, children are aware of gross ethnic differences (e.g., language and skin color) and often choose associates of similar ethnicity (Ramsey, 1987, p. 65). As I have indicated, there is evidence of negative racial attitudes on the part of at least some of the Hispanic children.

However, the nature of dramatic play itself would have made inter-ethnic cooperation difficult because the key to successful dramatic play is shared language. The

theoretical and empirical support for this is overwhelming. As Piaget (1962) pointed out, symbolic play requires that children achieve "representational correlation" (p. 139), that is, be able to verbally coordinate the themes of their pretense. Garvey (1974) elaborated on this by suggesting that three abilities underlie social play:

the ability to distinguish play and nonplay states, the ability to abstract the organizing rule from its specific or local representations, and the ability to identify a theme of the interaction and contribute to its development. (p. 179)

All these abilities assume a child's being able to understand what another is saying and, based on that understanding, speak appropriately.

The Hispanic girls were probably better acquainted with one another, and some no doubt held negative views of their black peers. However, the fact that patterns of social involvement followed strictly ethnic lines only in social dramatic play is explained by language difference. In a type of interaction in which close social collaboration and verbal sharing are crucial, the Hispanics sensibly chose to conduct it largely in Spanish. Constructive participation by children who spoke no Spanish was not likely. The girls knew this and, thus, strove to keep their dramatic play within their own group. Opportunity for such play came along so seldom at Fern Lake that children had no desire to jeopardize it by including those who could not participate.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study include an analysis of the social interactions of a small group of Mexican-American preschoolers and a description of the children's linguistic and social skills and of the classroom context in which they were observed. This investigation took the form of a case study (Stenhouse, 1980), with its prime emphases being detailed comprehensive description of the setting and subjects and the use of the participants' perspective in data analysis. It is not implied that the conclusions of this analysis necessarily hold true in other settings, only that they may prove useful to practitioners and researchers as they attempt to arrive at understandings of similar settings.

This chapter is a summary of the conclusions of the previous two chapters and a discussion of their relationship to early childhood peer interaction and second language acquisition. It also includes a discussion of the study's implications for educational practice and future research.

Conclusions

To return to the issues raised in the first chapter, the results of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. The organization of the Fern Lake Head Start Center and the language and social skills of the children provided few opportunities for the Spanish-speaking children to engage in lengthy social interaction or dramatic play with one another or with the English-speaking children.
2. Peer social interaction in the Head Start Center was characterized by the children's concern with exercising control over their social involvement with others.
3. The Hispanic children interacted and played with one another more than with the English-speaking children and generally spoke Spanish when playing among themselves. The Spanish-speaking children responded to English and used it more readily in teacher directed routines and activities than in free play with peers.
4. There was little evidence that social play with peers was an important source of comprehensible English input for the Hispanic children.

Limited Peer Social Interaction Opportunities

The children in the study found few opportunities for uninterrupted play or peer conversation. Of the 8 to 10 hours the children spent in the center each day, only about 45 minutes were consistently available for free play. This is congruent with findings in similar low-income Head Start centers (Lubeck, 1985, 1988). Though free play periods exceeded the 30 minutes considered necessary for facilitating social play (Christie, Johnsen, and Peckover,

1988), the children spent up to 90 percent of their time in teacher-planned routines and activities that offered little opportunity for uninterrupted peer-peer social interaction. The children could briefly chat and play during teacher-planned activities but were rarely able to develop complex, collaborative, verbal interactions.

In addition, the setting provided few physical facilities to support dramatic play or peer conversation (only the kitchen area in the center and the playhouse and tire swing in the play yard). Following a general pattern of constant teacher monitoring of all the children's activities, the children in Fern Lake seldom had open access even to these few areas; when they did, teachers frequently intervened in their play, especially when disputes arose. Researchers have noted this in many studies: to the degree that teachers are present and involved in children's social play, the children will create fewer and less complex interactions (Genishi & Di Paolo, 1982; Innocenti, et al., 1986). The center's schedule, its physical layout, its lack of facilities, and the intrusive adult presence made it difficult for the children to develop their own social interaction skills. As has been noted elsewhere (Gump, 1989; Suransky, 1983), low income, minority children, for whom extensive free play in preschool is probably the most beneficial to their development, may be the least likely to encounter it.

Perhaps because there were so few opportunities for the children to interact freely, they showed little skill in initiating and maintaining social interactions or resolving disputes with their peers. Without well developed social and verbal skills, lengthy play and conversation are difficult (Corsaro, 1979; Garvey, 1974; Giffin, 1984). The children in the study played well when there were not disputes but quickly separated when there were. This was especially noticeable when Hispanic children were involved in play with English-speaking peers. This finding is consistent with those of other researchers Howes (1987) indicated the necessity of young children's consolidating their verbal interactional skills before they can succeed in collaborative play with unfamiliar or culturally different peers.

On the other hand, several of the children engaged in extended episodes of complex Spanish conversation and Spanish dramatic play with Hispanic peers. Though complex social interaction was limited for all the reasons given, most of the children were obviously capable of developmentally appropriate social interactions. The results of this study do not support the research indicating play deficits for low SES and minority children (Christman, 1979; Smilansky, 1968). On the contrary, the children at Fern Lake could play well in their own language when

conditions allowed (Eiferman, 1971; Genishi & Galvan, 1985; McLoyd, 1982).

That Hispanics rarely played with non-Hispanics is consistent with what we know about the relationship between play and peer familiarity (Gumperz & Tanner, 1979; Schwartzman, 1984) and about the importance of children sharing what some researchers call common play scripts (French, Lucariello, Seidman & Nelson, 1985; Nelson & Seidman, 1984). As elsewhere, the children at Fern Lake preferred to play with children with whom they had a great deal in common.

Thus, lengthy, complex verbal play or peer conversation was not common at the Fern Lake Head Start center, especially between the two language groups. However, this finding should not be surprising given what research has revealed about the conditions necessary for the encouragement of verbal social interaction among preschooler --a setting that provides ample time and facilities for free play, a staff that allows children to interact freely without excessive adult intervention, and children who either share language and play scripts or have social skills that are sophisticated enough to overcome linguistic and cultural differences. None of these conditions prevailed at Fern Lake.

Controlling Involvement

As though aware of scarcity of opportunity for satisfactory peer interaction, the children in the study strove to exercise control over their social involvement or at least to cope with their lack of control. It was clearly important to the children that they be able to retain the capacity "to give, or withhold from giving [their] concerted attention to [the] activity at hand--a solitary task, a conversation, a collaborative work effort" (Goffman, 1963, p. 43).

When alone, the children often wished to remain so and vigorously avoided involvement with others by keeping away or warning them off. When attempting to join other children in play or conversation, they were careful to enter situations that left them some control over their involvement and allowed them to withdraw when that control was jeopardized. Once engaged in a satisfactory social interaction with peers, the children were very protective of what they had accomplished, making every effort to restrict the entry of unwanted others. In short, they sought social interaction with one another, but only under circumstances that granted them some control over what they did and with whom they did it (Corsaro, 1985).

It has been noted for some time that children wish to exercise control over their social encounters with others, as do adults. Goffman (1967) comments that people "may be

led to seek the safety of solitude rather than the danger of social encounters" (p. 39). The same was certainly true of the children at Fern Lake; once the child was involved in an encounter, control remained of great importance. In one of her earlier play studies Garvey (1974) observed that young children may be "ready and willing, perhaps before they [are] able, to attempt control of the human environment and derive satisfaction from successful control of another's behavior," and that, "the satisfaction derived is mutual, since each party is instrumental in eliciting and maintaining the responsive behavior of the other" (p. 179). This mutuality is a key element in determining a child's desire for and enjoyment of social involvement. When children have uncertain social skills, lack fluency in a common language, and find themselves in a setting that minimizes their opportunity to interact on their own terms without adult intrusion, a sense of mutuality may be difficult to achieve.

Corsaro (1985) found similar patterns in a very different setting in his comprehensive study of preschool peer culture. The children he studied had ample free-play time, numerous sites in the center and on the play ground suitable for social play, and a shared language and culture. Nevertheless, those children also found the "joint production" of "interactive events" difficult and strove to maintain control over their communally constructed and

shared play activities" (p. 273). They too jealously guarded their play sites and materials and resisted the access attempts of newcomers.

Thus the general pattern of social interaction in Fern Lake was congruent with findings elsewhere. Children avoided involvement with peers unless the situation allowed them mutuality and the communal construction of shared activities. An important factor present in this study and not in others, however, was that the children's communal construction of social interaction occurred almost entirely within the two language groups and not between them.

Social Interaction and Language

One of the most important findings of the study is that peer social interaction, especially conversation and dramatic play, took place largely within, not between the two language groups. As noted above, this affected the incidence and quality of social play, and, as will be discussed below, also limited the English input the Hispanic children received from their peers.

All the Spanish speakers were able to respond to the English of their teachers, and most could use some English in the teacher planned activities and routines. However, in child dominated situations, even the bilinguals were unlikely to use English or respond when spoken to by their English-speaking peers. There were only 10 episodes of dramatic play (and no peer conversations) recorded in the

study that included children from both language groups, and these episodes involved only 4 of the Hispanic children. The use of English in both peer social interaction and teacher planned activities varied greatly from child to child, but all the Hispanic children were more likely to use English with adults than with English-speaking children.

Attempts by English speakers to initiate or join in pretend play or conversation were nearly always met with rejection. The Hispanic children overtly refused them access to the interaction, passively ignored them, or simply moved away from them.

There is some evidence that a few of the Hispanic children avoided contact with the English-speaking children because all the English speakers were black. However, all but two of the Spanish-speaking children regularly associated with the black children in active play that required little language. In addition, all but three of the Hispanics, when asked to choose playmates, consistently chose black children. Finally, the teachers, with whom the children associated with obvious enjoyment, were also black. Thus, there is little reason to believe that the Hispanic children avoided verbal interaction with the black children merely for racial reasons.

As stated in Chapter I, no previous study has directly examined this issue: Given the presence in a preschool setting of two ethnically and linguistically distinct groups

of children, what will be the pattern of their social interaction and language use? Researchers have indicated that young children are aware of ethnic differences but don't necessarily let that awareness govern their playmate choices (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Ramsey, 1987), and that was the case in Fern Lake. However, the type of social interaction occurring between ethnically and linguistically distinct groups of children is often limited. There is some evidence that indicates the pattern is often like that at Fern Lake: ethnically different children may play together but find complex verbal interaction difficult (Emihovich, 1986; Heath & Chin, 1985; Sluckin, 1981). Researchers have also supported the finding that second language use may occur more readily in structured, teacher-planned activities than in peer interaction (Fillmore, 1985; Jun-Aust, 1988; Klee, 1988). Finally, the wide individual variation in children's willingness to interact with linguistically different peers is consistent with previous findings (Fillmore, 1976, 1979).

In sum, though novel in focusing its analysis on the peer interaction of linguistically different preschoolers in a natural setting, this study's findings are in agreement with those of other studies. Children from different language backgrounds may play together, use their second language with their teachers, and even, on occasion, use it with their peers. However, second language use is less

likely in peer conversation and dramatic play, and, thus, those contexts probably are not primary sources of second language input or acquisition.

Peer Interaction and Second Language Acquisition

The most important finding of this study, then, is that there was little English exchanged in play or peer conversation between Hispanics and English speakers. Thus, there is little evidence that peer interaction played a major role in the Spanish speakers' acquisition of English as a second language. Indeed, for most of the Hispanic children there was little change in their use of English over the course of the study. This is consistent with what we know about the length of time needed by most people, adults or children, to begin to use a second language (Fillmore, 1979; Krashen, 1985). Consistent also is the finding of wide variations in children's use of a second language (Fillmore, 1976, 1979). Only one child, Ana, was using more English and using it in a wider range of contexts (including dramatic play with English speakers) in May than in November. On the other hand, neither Caridad nor Raquela were using a significant amount of English in any context in May. The other children made small advances in English use, but mostly in teacher planned activities. In other words, the 10 Spanish-speaking children, as a group, did not demonstrate an accelerated use of English in the seven months they were observed, and the little growth in English

use that was observed was seen principally in interactions with adults or with peers in adult activities.

Only Fillmore's (1976, 1979) study can usefully be compared on this point, and, as mentioned, it was not conducted in a natural setting. Nevertheless, the results of the two studies have interesting similarities. In both studies, only one child was observed using significantly more English at the end of the study than at the beginning, several made modest progress in English use, and a few none at all. Fillmore attributed the variation in English use to the social skills and, most important, motivations of the children. The Hispanic child who desired to play with English speakers began to use a great deal of English; those with no such desire used very little (1979, p. 227). At Fern Lake none of the Hispanic children, like Fillmore's (1979) Nora, preferred to play with English speakers, much less wanted to "be" like them (p. 227). Recall that in Fillmore's study only this one child showed such a desire to identify with, and, thus, engage in extensive verbal social interaction with children from the other language group. All the others, as at Fern Lake, though playing some with English speakers, preferred play with their Hispanic peers and reserved social dramatic play for their language mates. If, as Fillmore (1979) suggests, the accelerated second language growth experienced by Nora was due to her "desire to be like the speakers of the new language" (p. 227), then

her results as well as the results of this study force one to conclude that few young children are likely to match Nora's progress. Given preschoolers' strong desire to control their social involvement with their peers, such unreserved willingness to open oneself to children who speak a different language is probably uncommon.

To return to the question that began this study, there was no evidence that the young children in the Fern Lake Head Start center automatically, through some inevitable social process, experienced accelerated second language acquisition in peer play. The conditions in which they played did not facilitate peer interaction, and more important, the nature of peer culture itself, with its concern over control, did not lead the children to lower their "affective filters" (Krashen, 1985) or motivate them to use more English.

Implications and Recommendations

Research

This study was an examination of the commonly held assumption that young children have an advantage in acquiring a second language, especially if they are able to play with children who are native speakers of that language. A review of previous research indicates general agreement that children as young as those in this study (4-5 years old) are capable of becoming fluently bilingual. However,

there are no studies that focus directly on the nature of the cross-language social interaction of young children in a natural setting. This study was not an attempt to draw conclusions but, rather, to provide a detailed description of peer interactions and to identify those features of peer culture that may have some bearing on language acquisition.

In this study, peer interactions were seen to be characterized by the children's concern with controlling their social involvement with their peers; peer interaction offered few opportunities for facilitating second language acquisition. The study is intended to be a first step towards developing an understanding of the relation between early childhood peer interaction and second language acquisition. Its conclusions are not meant to be generalized to other settings, but rather to suggest factors that might be subjects for the focus of other studies.

Krashen's (1985) model for second language acquisition, the Input Hypothesis, provided some guidance for the direction additional research might take. Krashen proposed that language acquisition required both comprehensible input and the lowering of the "affective filter" (p. 2-3) in those seeking to acquire a second language. His concept of comprehensible input included the provision that second language input ought to contain immediately comprehensible material plus some material above the comprehension level of the acquirer ($i + 1$). It remains unknown how well the

English of native speaking peers, in natural social interaction, serves as comprehensible input to children speaking other languages. It was noted that child-child discourse tends to make no concessions to the needs of language learners (Peck, 1978). It remains to be examined whether this lack of concessions, even given the assistance of repetition and familiar context (Hatch, Peck, & Wagner-Gough, 1978), may still make much child-child input incomprehensible. On the other hand, a recent study (Redcoff & Logan, 1990) in a multi-lingual child care setting found that non-fluent speakers of English, with no play partners available in their home language, were quite adept at choosing for play other non-fluent children whose English was similar to their own. Though this study's context was significantly different (there were children from many language backgrounds in the setting who were unable to interact or play in their home languages) from Fern Lake, it raises the interesting possibility that children may themselves be able to find playmates who provide second language input at a comprehensible ($i + 1$) level. This is certainly an area that would benefit from additional research.

This last proposal leads to consideration of the notion of the affective filter. Children who choose play partners of similar linguistic ability may be seeking a particular level of language input or they may be looking for a peer

with roughly the same level of social skills with whom they can play. Given the concern among the children of this study for keeping control over their involvement with others, it would not be surprising to discover that young children prefer the company of those whose social and language skills are similar to their own. Krashen (1985) insisted that, for young children, the affective filter "is rarely, in natural informal language acquisition situations, high enough to prevent native-like levels of attainment" (p. 13). However, children may not readily lower their affective filters in the presence of peers with obviously superior verbal interaction skills. A study designed to examine the relation between children's social skills and second language use would be beneficial.

It should be noted here, also, that though the role played by racial difference in determining social interaction patterns at Fern Lake was secondary to that played by language difference, the effects of racial attitudes on early childhood peer culture and second language acquisition deserve further study. Specifically, preschool settings which contain populations that differ ethnically from Fern Lake need to be studied. It would be interesting to see if patterns of social interaction and language use differ when the sources of English input for the Hispanic children are white rather than black peers. One researcher indicated that young Hispanics generally

expressed positive attitudes toward whites, yet held negative opinions of blacks (Aboud, 1988). However, we know little of how these attitudinal differences affect children's willingness to interact in natural settings.

The findings of this study, then, are a first step towards developing an understanding of the motivations that lead children to drop their guards and open themselves to the second language input they need for acquisition. After all, there are children, like Ana at Fern Lake and Nora in Fillmore's (1979) study, who are more motivated than most to interact with children who speak another language. The key to discovering the role that peer interaction may play in second language acquisition lies in discovering why some children want to "be like the speakers of the new language" (p. 227).

Educational Practice

As regards educational practice, in the first place, this study can serve simply to add to the understanding of those who work with young children whose first language is not English. Ethnographic descriptions of educational settings can help create for practitioners "naturalistic generalizations" (Stake, 1980) about the social worlds of the children with whom they work. This is not to say that the insights we have gained into the lives of the children in the Fern Lake Head Start Center are automatically transferable to children in other settings. Every group of

children and teachers in every specific context is unique in many important details. The intent here is not to reduce a complex situation to few simple generalizations, but rather to "feed the judgement" of practitioners (Stenhouse, 1980, p. 3).

The second type of implication involves specific recommendations for early childhood curriculum and child care practice. First, and most obvious, is that children ought to be provided with sufficient time and adequate physical resources for free play so as to facilitate peer interaction. Implied in this recommendation is that teachers will permit children to play freely and will intervene in children's social interactions only when it is necessary to control disruptive or dangerous behavior.

The recommendation that adults refrain from intervention in peer interaction requires some elaboration. One finding of the study is that ethnically and linguistically different children may choose to play separately from one another. Separate play meets the needs of the children for exercising control over their interactions, especially those highly valued interactions, peer conversation and dramatic play. However, separate play seem to promote neither second language acquisition nor inter-ethnic understanding. This is an apparent conflict in curricular goals; ethnic understanding and language acquisition might benefit from consciously mixing children

both in planned activities and play groups. However, peer control of social involvement would be compromised if teachers attempted to force ethnic mixing in free play situations.

Given the key role played by peer interactions in social and cognitive development (Piaget, 1965; Vygotsky, 1978; Youniss, 1980) and indeed in the development of an individual's sense of self (Strauss, 1956; Youniss, 1983), it seems critically important that free play remain central to the preschool curriculum. It is certainly no less important that language minority children be given the same access to the benefits of free play as English-speaking children.

That children be left to play in their home language or English, as they themselves choose, also relates to one of the issues at the heart of the bilingual education debate. Children who choose to play principally with their own language mates may, at least initially, show more growth in their first language than in English. Many would argue that non-English-speaking children are better served by the earliest and greatest exposure to English possible (see Hakuta, 1986; Crawford, 1989). However, most researchers, as convincingly summarized by Cummins (1986, 1989), contend that mastery of a second language is greatly eased, if one has first mastered one's home language. Providing young children, when possible, with the opportunity to play in

their first language, by enhancing the development of their native language, should, in the long run, actually facilitate their acquisition of English as a second language.

These findings do not, however, imply that the early childhood teacher has no role to play in facilitating a language minority child's acquisition of English as a second language. On the contrary, as Fillmore has pointed out, (1980, 1985) and as this study suggests, peer interaction is not to be relied upon as a young child's principal source of second language input. Rather, teachers must be able to plan sophisticated curricula that allow ample time for free play yet include activities designed to provide children with comprehensible English input and the motivation to acquire and use it.

REFERENCES

- About, F. (1988). Children and prejudice. New York, NY: Basil Blackwell.
- Asher, S. R., Renshaw, D. D., & Hymel, S. (1982). Peer relations and the development of social skills. In S. G. Moore and C. R. Cooper (Ed.), The young child: Reviews of research, Vol. 3 (pp. 137-158). Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Bar-Adon, A. (1977). Child bilingualism in an immigrant society. In W. F. Mackey & T. Andersson (Eds.), Bilingualism in early childhood (pp. 147-166). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Bakeman, R., & Brownlee, J. R. (1980). The strategic use of parallel play: A sequential analysis. Child Development, 51, 873-878.
- Becker, H. S. (1958). Problems of inference and proof in participant observation. American Sociological Review, 23(6), 652-660.
- Becker, H. S., & Geer, B. (1969). Participant observation and interviewing: A comparison. In G. J. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation: A text and reader (pp. 322-331). New York, NY: Random House.
- ✓ Bodgan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). Qualitative Research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Brown, H. D. (1987). Principles of language learning and teaching. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Christie, J. F., Johnsen, E. P., & Peckover, R. B. (1988). The effects of play period duration on children's play patterns. Journal of Research in Childhood Education, 3(2), 123-131.
- Christman, M. (1979). A look at sociodramatic play among Mexican-American children. Childhood Education, 34 106-110.

- Cook-Gumperz, J. (1981). Persuasive talk: The social organization of children's talk. In J. L. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 25-50). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Cook-Gumperz, J., & Corsaro, W. (1977). Social-ecological constraints on children's communication strategies. Sociology, 11, 411-434.
- Cook-Gumperz, J., & Corsaro, W. (1986). Introduction. In J. Cook-Gumperz, W. A. Corsaro, & J. Streeck (Eds.), Children's worlds and children's language (pp. 1-11). The Hague: Morton de Gruyter.
- Corsaro, W. A. (1979). We're friends, right?: Children's use of access rituals in a nursery school. Language in Society, 8, 315-336.
- Corsaro, W. A. (1981). Entering the child's world: Research strategies for field entry and data collection in preschool settings. In J. L. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 117-146). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Corsaro, W. A. (1982). Something old and something new: The importance of prior ethnography in the collection and analysis of audiovisual data. Sociological Methods and Research, 11(2), 145-166.
- Corsaro, W. A. (1985). Friendship and peer culture in the early years. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Crawford, J. (1989). Bilingual education: History, politics, theory, and practice. Trenton, NJ: Crane.
- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. Harvard Education Review, 56, 18-36.
- Cummins, J. (1989). Empowering minority children. Sacramento, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Curtain, H. A., & Pesola, C.A. (1988). Language and children--making the match: Foreign language instruction in the elementary school. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Denzin, N. (1977). The research act. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Denzin, N. (Ed.). (1989). Sociological methods: A sourcebook (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

- Dore, J. (1979). Conversational acts and the acquisition of language. In E. Ochs & B. Schieffelin (Eds.), Developmental pragmatics (pp. 339-361). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Doyle, A. B., & Connally, J. (1989). Negotiation and enactment in social pretend play: Relations to social acceptance and social cognition. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 4, 289-302.
- Dunn, J. (1988). The beginnings of social understanding. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Edelsky, C., & Hudelson, S. (1982). Reversing the roles of Chicano and Anglo children in a bilingual classroom: On the communicative competence of the helper. In J. A. Fishman & G. D. Keller (Eds.), Bilingual education for Hispanic students in the United States (pp. 303-325). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Eiferman, R. (1971). Social play in childhood. In R. Herron & B. Sutton-Smith (Eds.), Child's play (pp. 270-297). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Emihovich, C. (1986). Argument as status assertion: Centextual variations in children's disputes. Languages in Society, 15, 485-500.
- Erickson, F., & Wilson, J. (1982). Sights and sounds of life in schools: A resource guide to film and videotape for research and education. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Fein, G. G. (1981). Pretend play in childhood: An integrative review. Child Development, 52, 1095-1118.
- Fein, G. G., & Schwartz, S. S. (1986). The social coordination of pretense in preschool children. In G. G. Fein & M. Rivkin (Eds.), The young child at play: Reviews of research, Vol. 4, (pp. 95-111). Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Fillmore, L. W. (1976). The second time around: Cognitive and social strategies in second language acquisition. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.
- Fillmore, L. W. (1979). Individual differences in second language acquisition. In C. J. Fillmore, D. Kempler, & W. Wang (Eds.), Individual differences in language ability and language behavior (pp. 203-228). New York, NY: Academic Press.

- Fillmore, L. W. (1985). When does teacher talk work as input? In S. M. Gass & C. G. Madden (Eds.), Input in second language acquisition (pp. 17-50). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fine, G. A., & Glassner, B. (1973). Participant observation with children: Promise and problems. Urban Life, 8(2), 153-174.
- Fine, G. A., & Sandstrom, K. L. (1988). Knowing children: Participant observation with minors. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- French, L. A., Lucariello, J., Siedman, S., & Nelson, K. (1985). The influence of discourse content and context on preschoolers' use of language. In L. Galda and A. D. Pellegroni (Eds.), Play, language, and stories: The development of children's literate behavior (pp. 1-27). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Garcia, E. E. (1983). Early childhood bilingualism: With special reference to the Mexican-American child. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Garvey, C. (1974). Some properties of social play. The Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 20, 163-180.
- Garvey, C. (1984). Children's talk. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Garvey, C., & Hogan, R. (1973). Social speech and social interaction: Egocentrism revisited. Child Development, 44, 562-568.
- Genishi, C. (1981). Codeswitching in Chicano six-year-olds. In R. P. Durán (Ed.), Latino languages and communicative behavior (pp. 133-152). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Genishi, C., & DiPaolo, M. (1982). Learning through argument in a preschool. In L. C. Wilkerson (Ed.), Communicating in the classroom (pp. 49-68). Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Genishi, C., & Dyson, A. H. (1984). Language assessment in the early years. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

- Genishi, C., & Galván, J. (1985). Getting started: Mexican-American preschoolers initiating dramatic play. In J. L. Frost & S. Sunderlin (Eds.). When children play: Proceedings of the International Conference on Play and Play Environments (pp. 23-30). Wheaton, MD: Association of Childhood Education International.
- Giffin, H. (1984). The coordination of meaning in the creating of a shared make-believe reality. In I. Bretherton (Ed.). Symbolic play: The development of social understanding (pp. 73-100). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Gingras, R. C. (1983). Early childhood bilingualism: Some considerations from second language acquisition research. In O. N. Saracho & B. Spodak (Eds.), Understanding the multi-cultural experience in early childhood education (pp. 67-74). Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Glaser, B. G. (1965). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. Social Problems, 12, 436-445.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. Chicago, IL: Aldine Press.
- Goffman, E. (1959). The presentation of self in everyday life. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Goffman, E. (1963). Behavior in public places. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Goffman, E. (1967). Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Gold, R. L. (1958). Roles in sociological field observations. In G. J. McCall & J. L. Simmons (Eds.) (1969). Issues in participation observation: A text and reader (pp. 30-38). New York, NY: Random House.
- Goode, D. A. (1986). Kids, culture and innocents. Human Studies, 9, 83-106.
- Grove, R. W. (1988). An analysis of the constant comparative method. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 1(3), 273-279.

- Gump, P. V. (1989). Ecological psychology and issues of play. In M. N. Block & A. D. Pellegrini (Eds.). The ecological context of children's play (pp. 35-56). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Gumperz, J. J., & Tannen, D. (1979). Individual and social differences in language use. In C. J. Fillmore, D. Kempler, & W. S. Wang (Eds.). Individual differences in language ability and behavior (pp. 305-325). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Hakuta, K. (1986). Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Hallinan, M. T. (1981). Recent advances in sociometry. In S. R. Asher & J. M. Gottman (Eds.). The development of children's friendships (pp. 91-115). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hatch, E. R. (1977). Second language learning. In Center for Applied Linguistics, Bilingual education: Current perspectives, Volume 2, Linguistics (pp. 60-86). Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Hatch, E. R. (1978). Discourse analysis and second language acquisition. In E. R. Hatch (Ed.). Second language acquisition: A book of readings (pp. 401-435). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Hatch, E. R., Peck, S., & Wagner-Gough, J. (1978). A look at process in child second-language acquisition. In E. Ochs & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), Developmental pragmatics (pp. 269-278). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Heath, S. B., & Chin, H. (1985). Narrative play in second language learning. In L. Galda & A. D. Pellegrini (Eds.), Play, language, and stories (pp. 147-166). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Howes, C. (1987). Social competency with peers: Contributions from child care. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 2, 155-167.
- Howes, C. (1988). Peer interaction of young children. Monographs of the society for research in child development. Vol. 53, No. 1. Chicago, IL: Society for Research in Child Development.

- Howes, C., & Unger, O. (1989). Play with peers in child care settings. In M. N. Bloch & A. D. Pellegrini (Eds.), The ecological context of children's play (pp. 104-119). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Huang, J., & Hatch, E. (1978). A Chinese child's acquisition of English. In E. Hatch (Ed.), Second language acquisition: A book of readings (pp. 231-256). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Hutchinson, S. A. (1986). Education and grounded theory. Journal of Thought, 21(3), 50-68.
- Innocenti, M. S. Stoitschek, J. J., Rule, S., Killoran, J., Striefel, S., & Boswell, C. (1986). A naturalistic study of the relation between preschool setting event and peer interaction. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 1, 141-153.
- Jun-Aust, H. (1988). Individual differences in second language learning among Korean immigrant children. In R. Benya & K. E. Müller (Eds.), Children and language: Research, practice, and rationale for the early grades (pp. 124-141). New York, NY: The American Forum.
- King, N. (1979). Play: The kindergartners' perspective. The Elementary School Journal, 80, 81-87.
- King, N. (1986). Play and the culture of childhood. In G. Fein, & M. Rivkin (Eds.) The young child at play: Reviews of research, Volume 4 (pp. 29-41). Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.
- Klee, C. (1988). A discourse analysis of interactions of Spanish-English bilingual children. In R. Benya & K. E. Müller (Eds.), Children and language: Research, practice, and rationale for the early grades (pp. 142-154). New York, NY: The American Forum.
- Krashen, S. (1985). The input hypothesis: Issues and implications. New York, NY: Longman.
- Krashen, S., Long, M., & Scarcella, R. (1982). Age, rate, and eventual attainment in second language acquisition. In S. Krashen, R. Scarcella, & M. Long, (Eds.), Child-adult differences in second language acquisition (pp. 161-172). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Labov, W. (1972). The logic of nonstandard English. In P. P. Gagliolo (Ed.), Language and social context (pp. 179-215). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

- LeCompte, M. D., & Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. Review of Educational Research, 52, 31-60.
- Lenneberg, E. H. (1967). Biological foundations of language. New York, NY: John Wiley and Sons.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985) Naturalistic inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Loflin, J. (1971). Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Lubeck, S. (1985). Sandbox society: Early education in black and white America. London, England: Falmer Press.
- Lubeck, S. (1988). Roads to school. Theory into Practice, 27(1), 11-18.
- Lucariello, J., Seidman, S., & Nelson, K. (1985). The influence of discourse content and context on preschoolers' use of language. In L. Galda & A. D. Pellegrini (Eds.), Play, language, and stories (pp. 1-27). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Mackey, W. S., & Andersson, T. (Eds.) (1977). Bilingualism in early childhood. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- MacNamara, J. (1977). Cognitive strategies of language learning. In W. F. Mackey & T. Andersson (Eds.), Bilingualism in early childhood (pp. 19-27). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Mandell, N. (1984). Children's negotiation of meaning. Symbolic Interaction, 7, 191-211.
- Mandell, N. (1986). Peer interactions in day care settings: Implications for social cognition. In P. A. Adler & P. Adler (Eds.), Sociological studies of child development, Vol. I (pp. 55-79). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Mandell, N. (1988). The least-adult role in studying children. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 16, (4), 433-467.
- Manis, J. G., & Meltzer, B. N. (Eds.) (1972). Symbolic interaction: A reader in social psychology (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

- Martin-Jones, M., & Romaine, S. (1985). Semilingualism: A half-baked theory of communicative competence. Applied Linguistics, 7(1), 26-38.
- McLaughlin, B. (1984). Second-language acquisition in childhood, Volume 1: Preschool children, (Second Edition). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McLoyd, V. (1982). Social class differences in sociodramatic play: A critical review. Developmental Review, 2, 1-30.
- McLoyd, V. C., Ray, S. A., & Etter-Lewis, G. (1985) Being and becoming: The interface of language and family role knowledge in the pretend play of young African-American girls. In L. Galda & A. D. Pellegrini (Eds.), Play, language and stories (pp. 24-43). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Mehan, H. (1979). Learning lessons: The social organization of classroom behavior. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Monighan-Nourot, P., Scales, B., Van Hoorn, J., & Almy, M. (1987). Looking at children's play: A bridge between theory and practice. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Nelson, K., & Seidman, S. (1984). Playing with scripts. In I. Bretherton (Ed.), Symbolic play (pp. 45-71). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Newman, D. (1978). Ownership and permission among nursery school children. In J. Glick, & A. Clarke-Stewart (Eds.), The development of social understanding (pp. 213-249). New York, NY: Gardner.
- Olszewski, P. (1987). Individual differences in preschool children's production of verbal fantasy play. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 33(1), 69-85.
- Paley, V. G. (1984). Boys and girls: Superheroes in the doll corner. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Parten, M. (1932). Social participation among preschool children. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 27, 243-268.
- Parten, M. B. (1933). Social play among preschool children. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28, 136-147.
- Paulston, C. B. (1980). Bilingual education: Theories and issues. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

- Peck, S. (1978). Child-child discourse in 2nd language acquisition. In E. M. Hatch (Ed.), Second language acquisition: A book of readings (pp. 383-400). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Pellegrini, A. D. (1987). Rough-and-tumble play: Developmental and educational significance. Educational Psychologist, 22(1), 23-43.
- Pelto, P. J., & Pelto, G. (1978). Anthropolical research: The structure of inquiry. (2nd Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phinney, J. S., & Rotheram, M. J. (1987). Children's ethnic socialization: Themes and implications. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.), Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development (pp. 274-292). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Piaget, J. (1962). Play, dreams, and imitation in childhood. New York, NY: Norton.
- Piaget, J. (1965). The moral judgement of the child. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Ramsey, P. G. (1987). Young children's thinking about ethnic differences. In Jean S. Phinney & Mary Jane Rotheram (Eds.), Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development (pp. 56-72). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Redcoff, N., & Logan, T. F. (1990) Limited English proficient children's playmate choices in a multicultural/multilingual preschool. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Rosewater, A. (1989). Child and family trends: Beyond the numbers. In F. J. Macchiarola & A. Gartner (Eds.), Caring for America's children (pp. 4-19). New York, NY: The Academy of Political Science.
- Rubin, K. H., Maioni, T. L., & Hornung, M. (1976). Free play behaviors in middle- and lower-class preschoolers: Parten and Piaget revisited. Child Development, 47, 414-419.
- Rubin, Z. (1980). Children's friendships. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schatzman, L., & Strauss, A. L. (1973). Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Schwartz, H., & Schwartz, C. G. (1955). Problems in participant observation. American Journal of Sociology, 60, 343-353.
- Schwartzman, H. B. (1978). Transformations: The anthropology of children's play. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Schwartzman, H. B. (1984). Imaginative play: Deficit or difference. In T. D. Yawkey & H. D. Pellegrini (Eds.), Child's play: Developmental and applied (pp. 49-62). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Sevigny, M. J. (1981). Triangulated inquiry: A methodology for the analysis of classroom interaction. In J. L. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 65-86). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Shantz, C. V., & Hobart, C. J. (1989). Social conflict and development: Peers and siblings. In T. J. Berndt & G. W. Ladd (Eds.), Peer relationships in child development (pp. 71-95). New York, NY: Wiley.
- The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1973). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Silvers, R. J. (1975). Discovering children's culture. Interchange, 6(4), 47-52.
- Silvers, R. J. (1983). On the other side of silence. Human Studies, 6, 91-108.
- Slaughter, D. T., & Dombrowski, J. (1989). Cultural continuities and discontinuities: Impact on social and pretend play. In M. N. Bloch & A. D. Pellegrini (Eds.), The ecological context of children's play (pp. 282-310). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Sluckin, A. (1981). Growing up in the playground: The social development of children. London, England: Routledge and Regan Paul.
- Smilansky, S. (1968). The effects of sociodramatic play on disadvantage preschool children. New York, NY: Wiley.
- ✓ Spradley, J. P. (1980). Participant observation. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Stake, R. (1980). The case study method in social inquiry. In H. Simons (Ed.), Toward a science of the singular (pp. 62-73). Norwich, CT: Center for Applied Research in Education.

- Strauss, A. (Ed.) (1956). The social psychology of George Herbert Mead. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- ✓ Strauss, A. L. (1987). Qualitative analysis for social scientists. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Stenhouse, L. (1980). The study of samples and the study of cases. British Educational Research Journal, 6(1), 1-6.
- Tamivaara, J., & Enright, D. S. (1986). On eliciting information: Dialogues with child informants. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 17, 218-238.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). The role of play in development. In M. Cole, V. John-Steiner, S. Scribner, & E. Souberman (Eds.), Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes (pp. 92-104). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Waksler, F. C. (1986). Studying children: Phenomenological insights. Human Studies, 9, 71-92.
- Waksler, F. C. (1987). Dancing when the music is over: A study of deviance in a kindergarten classroom. In P. A. Adler & P. Adler (Eds.), Sociological studies in child development, Vol. II (pp. 139-158). Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. TESOL Quarterly, 22(4), 575-592.
- Youniss, J. (1980). Parents and peers in social development: A Sullivan-Piaget perspective. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Youniss, J. (1983). Piaget and the self constituted through relations. In W. F. Overton (Ed.), The relationship between cognitive and social development (pp. 201-227). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Youniss, J., & Volpe, J. (1978). A relational analysis of children's friendship. In W. Damon (Ed.) Social cognition: New directions for child development, No. 1 (pp. 1-22). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Thomas F. Logan holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in history from the University of Wisconsin and a Master of Arts in early childhood education from the University of South Alabama.

He has studied bilingual education, early childhood curriculum, and foundations of education in his doctoral program at the University of Florida.

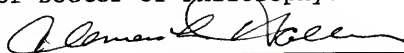
His professional career has included teaching and administering programs in early childhood, elementary, and bilingual education in Chicago, rural Wisconsin, the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, central Florida, and the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

In addition to his doctoral studies at the University of Florida, he has taught English as a second language to foreign students, supervised student teachers, taught a graduate course in early childhood education, and, for the last four years, has served as director of the University's Educational Research Center for Child Development.

He continues to pursue his interest in early childhood play, social interaction, and second language acquisition by maintaining an ongoing program of study at the Research Center. He has presented papers at the annual meetings of the Florida Association for Children Under Six, the National

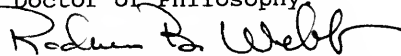
Association for Bilingual Education, the National
Association for the Education of Young Children, and the
Association for Childhood Education International.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



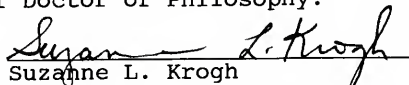
Clemens L. Hallman, Chair
Professor of Instruction and
Curriculum

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



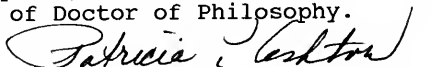
Rodman B. Webb, Cochair
Professor of Foundations of
Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Suzanne L. Krogh
Associate Professor of
Instruction and Curriculum

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Patricia T. Ashton
Professor of Foundations of
Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Athol B. Packer
Associate Professor of
Instruction and Curriculum

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1990

David E. Smith 
Dean, College of Education

Dean, Graduate School

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 08285 344 0